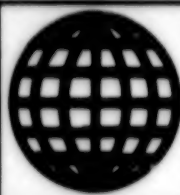


JPRS-UPA-90-039

7 JULY 1990



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# ***JPRS Report***

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## **Soviet Union**

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***Political Affairs***

# Soviet Union

## Political Affairs

JPRS-UPA-90-039

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7 July 1990

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### **Poll Backs Radical Reform in Local Party Apparatus**

90UN1915A Moscow PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN  
in Russian No 9, May 90 pp 32-34

[Article by A. Kuzich and G. Yakunin, candidates of the Academy of Social Sciences of the CPSU Central Committee: "What Has the Public Opinion Poll Shown?"]

[Text] Today it is clear to every person that the success and pace of perestroika in society depend directly upon how quickly and logically perestroika will proceed within the party and within its links and how deeply the processes of the democratization of party life will be developed. Documents from the February and March Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee and the drafts of the Platform for the 28th Party Congress and the new rules that they approved have given communists and all party organizations reliable landmarks in the sea of perestroika problems. They have also stimulated the political activity of the party masses and have awakened creative thought.

Topics for discussion in the party world have included such lively questions as the ways and means of doing away with the hypertrophied role of the apparatus in the party, optimizing its relationships with the organs that manage elections, eliminating the alienation of the party masses from party politics, ensuring the participation of communists in the formation of management and executive organs and in the making of decisions, eliminating the gap between the foundation of the party - the primary organizations - and the committees that stand over them, changing relationships between the lower and higher party links, guaranteeing the rights of the minority to a lag in their points of view and others, the conclusive solution of which will soften many problems and contradictions.

A good reference point in the discussion is the emphasis upon public opinion in questions having to do with the development of democracy within the party.

Let us take a look at the results of social research entitled "The Party and Party Workers in Conditions of Perestroika," which was conducted with the participation of the authors. Their research was done in the cities of Moscow and Vilnius; in Kiev, Rostov and Syr Darya oblasts; in Khabarovsk Kray; and in the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic. The work was done by the Center for Social Research of the Academy of Social Sciences of the CPSU Central Committee under the guidance of Zh. Toshchenko, V. Boykov and Ye. Levanov. According to individual methodologies some 1,357 non-party member workers, 542 party members, and 1,533 party apparatus workers and members of the party election organs were polled. The content analysis method was used to study 1,190 personal cases of communists who had been excluded from the party and who had left the party.

In many cases, as the public opinion poll demonstrated, the apparatus of the local party committees was not always capable of overcoming the alienation from the party masses and population and of reaching an essentially new level in political, organizational and ideological work. The reorganization of the structure of the party apparatus that has taken place has not led to a substantial change in the content and style of its work. Only two percent of the party workers and members of the rayon, city and oblast level party committees noted that these changes have produced a positive effect; some 19 percent cited only a few positive changes; and the others expressed negative judgments on this score. What is the problem here? In the opinion of those who responded, the reorganization of the party apparatus was carried out within a framework of plans that were not up to date for its work.

The analysis of the obtained data makes it possible to conclude that the apparatuses of the party committees are in need of major changes in their functions, structure, and staffing. For example, 88 percent of the polled party workers in looking critically at themselves indicated that they are either weak or totally lacking in political work skills; nearly one half declared that their present staff is unable to change anything or to overcome the party committees' lagging behind the requirements of life; and what is more, 92 percent came out in favor of a radical renovation of party cadres. From among the communists who were polled only one in five gave high marks to the professional capabilities of party workers and their ability to persuade people to follow their lead.

The research results suggest that in order for the party apparatus to function more effectively it is necessary not only to create new structures but also to change radically the nature of internal party relationships and the approach to the formation of the party apparatus. The way to do this can be found in the democratization of the very process of advancing cadres on an alternative and competitive basis with the active participation of the primary party organizations.

At present 43 percent of the party workers note that they joined the apparatus based upon the recommendation of coworkers and 35 percent upon consideration of the recommendation of the primary organizations. However, only 11 percent of the workers were sent to the party apparatus based upon the initiative of the primary party organizations. Only three percent passed through a competitive selection process; and five percent passed through alternative selection processes. Although it is precisely these last two forms of selection and advancement of party cadres that are receiving increasing support among the public.

In the draft Platform it says that the apparatus must be optimized in its numbers and strictly subordinated to the election organs. However, in our opinion, this can be achieved in conjunction with its reduction and primarily by changing its functions. It is thought that the apparatus should retain only three functions: technical support to



the work of the members of the election organ; analytic and sociological forecasting work, which is carried out by professional experts as tasked by commissions of the party organ; and methodological assistance to the lower level party links.

In the course of the sociological research those who responded noted that they are not meeting the demands of time of the interrelationship of the party committees and organizations at various levels, at the "top" and "bottom." As before, diktat relationships remain between them. Some 74 percent of the communists and 81 percent of the party workers who were polled pointed this out. Seventy-five percent of the party cadres and members of the election organs pointed out the subordination which hinders freedom of actions, independence and initiative. What is more, whereas the lower level party committees put primary emphasis upon cooperation and mutual assistance (66 percent) in the work of the higher level organizations, for the higher level party committee, as in previous years, operational assiduity (64 percent) remains the basic criterion, followed by the initiative and creativity of the lower level (42 percent) organizations.

And so this is how the party committees of the primary party organizations are oriented in their work: only 19 percent of those polled noted that they are focused on solving the problems of the collective; the majority indicated that the main thing in their work is to carry out the orders of the city and rayon party committees.

Relationships within the very apparatus of the party committees are cause for anxiety. Only one in three of the workers who were polled believes that a business-like style prevails in the party committee; and only one in five thinks that this style is based upon principled comradeship, confidence, and mutual understanding. A significant number of those who responded (23 percent) defined the predominant type of relationships within the apparatus as authoritarian, meaning the relationships between "bosses" and "subordinates." The basic and often only criterion for the positive evaluation of workers is assiduity; significantly less often is value given to creative initiative. Such negative phenomena as personal devotion to the leadership, bootlicking, and subservience remain in place.

A serious problem, which is linked with democratization within the party, is the problem of the rights of the "minority." In assessing the atmosphere, which has formed around communists who have expressed an opinion which does not mesh with the opinion of the majority, on average a third of those responding have noted that such people are becoming "unwelcome" in their collectives and organizations. And this is accompanied by all of the consequences that come out of this. What is more, whereas in Rostov Oblast some eight percent of those responding pointed this out, in Baku and Vilnius the numbers were 40 and 46 percent respectively.

In connection with this, it is thought that the way the draft Platform says that the minority must be guaranteed the right to try to vindicate their views during the required fulfillment of decisions made by the majority is very timely. At the same time, apparently, it is also necessary to point out the responsibility of official and election personnel for keeping an eye on "differently minded" party members.

True party democratism and party comradeship can appear only in careful relationship to the convictions of each communist and in knowing how to consider and compare differing opinions, both in the primary party organization and in the party election organ. Moreover, it is useful to recall one important comment of V.I. Lenin: "If there is a true desire to work together, then there must also be the desire to subordinate oneself to the will of the majority...." (Lenin, V.I., Complete works, vol 8, p 152). At the same time he considered it to be necessary that only such unity of the party ranks as develops on the basis of a diversity of opinions, judgments, and alternative approaches, not as is propagated according to a command from above in the form of fixed dogmas and "bureaucratic like-mindedness."

The problem of party unity at the present-day stage during the democratization of inner-party relationships and the pluralism of opinions requires not only a new theoretical interpretation but also practical, energetic actions to ensure such unity.

The research data leads us to this conclusion. For example, among the polled communists, some 37 percent tolerate the existence within the CPSU of platforms and fractions (among party apparatus workers the figure was 32 percent). Some 20 percent of all who participated in the sociological survey expressed support for a federal party structure. Some 36 percent of communists see the need for the formation of other parties along with the CPSU.

Moreover, the number of advocates and opponents for radical changes differs substantially in different regions. For example, the greatest support for the creation of a multiparty system came from Khabarovsk Kray (56 percent) and Vilnius (54 percent); the least support came from Syr Darya Oblast (18 percent). The number of advocates for a federal CPSU structure in Vilnius is two to three times greater than in other regions of the country; what is more such a position was taken by 54 percent of the polled party workers.

All of this suggests that the problem of party unity must be given significantly more attention in the Platform.

On the whole, the analysis of public opinion convincingly asserts that without a substantial amount of perestroika the party risks remaining on the sidelines of political life. The people do not have a great deal of confidence. Only 25 percent of the workers, of whom more than one third are communists, expressed complete confidence in the party's ability to save the country from breakdown.

This, in our opinion, again confirms that the draft CPSU Central Committee Platform for the 28th Party Congress is a document not only for discussion and the comparison of

opinions but also is a call for action which shows the path that must be taken not into some near-term "tomorrow," but today and in each day of practical work.

**Armenian Officials Meet on Quake Reconstruction Program***90US0878A Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian  
27 Mar 90 pp 1-2*

[ARMENPRESS report: "Maximum Attention to the Earthquake Zone"]

[Text] As has already been reported, on 23 March there was held in Yerevan an expanded conference at which the course of the construction and restoration work in the earthquake zone was discussed. The conference was led by V.Kh. Doguzhiyev, USSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman, USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Emergencies chairman.

S.G. Arutyunyan, Armenian CP first secretary and member of the CPSU Central Committee for eliminating the aftermath of the Armenian earthquake, spoke at the conference. In particular, he said:

The situation in the republic continues to remain complex and strained. Thousands of fates crippled; thousands of apartments and homes destroyed. Tens of thousands of families scattered about the republic, various corners of our country by a hurricane of disaster. There remain 530,000 people without shelter. In total, more than 800,000 people were driven from their normal path of life, plus the complex political situation caused by the exacerbation of interethnic relations in the region. All of this has created an extraordinary, it could be said, stressful situation in our republic.

I think that anyone can understand that it is above all the warmth generated by familial hearths that can instill in people confidence in tomorrow. Therefore the acceleration of the course of the construction and restoration work in the disaster area acquires most important socio-political significance. We must, we are obliged to give a second wind to the restoration of the earthquake zone. I do not know what it is like for others, but when I visit the affected regions, I often have difficulty looking people in the eye. Their social expectations have been strongly undermined.

The plan for the introduction of housing in the earthquake zone was fulfilled by only 17 percent last year. The picture in the cities that suffered the most is even bleaker. Last year in Leninakan, of the 1,195 residences specified, only three were put into use. In Kirovakan, of 366, 19 were turned over; in Spitak, 415 and 12 respectively, and in Stepanavan, 145 and 27.

Last year, we managed to settle only 50,000 people in new homes. Thousands of families continue to cramp themselves into unmodified premises; many of them are still in evacuation.

The situation with the restoration and construction of public education and health care facilities, communal and other residential services facilities is no better. The program for introduction of schools has been fulfilled by

12.8 percent; children's preschool facilities, by 3.7 percent; hospitals, by 19 percent.

The situation is exacerbated the by the fact that until now, little has been done for the construction and restoration of the old sections of the population points that have suffered, especially in the cities of Leninakan and Kirovakan, which are in a semi-destroyed state and are practically, I am not afraid of the word, a no-man's-land.

The restoration of the industrial potential remains serious. The volume of production output for the time being is 54 percent of the former level. For 55 of the 130 enterprises at which introduction of operating capacity was stipulated last year, less than half of the limit of capital investment was assimilated; at 14 enterprises, work has not begun at all. It is completely impermissible that the issue of the general contractor for restoring the Leninakan "Armkanerezmash" association has not yet been resolved; its collective was forced to work under the most difficult conditions, in fact, out in the open, to produce the stone-cutting machines so needed in the republic now.

Certain union ministries are implementing in an unsatisfactory manner the construction and restoration of department facilities: the Leninakan "Elektron" plant; the Nalbanskiy "Liftonormal" plant; the Spitak elevator building plant; the Artikskiy "Aragats" plant, and the "Neyron" production association of the USSR Ministry of Construction and Ministry of Energy are ruining construction of water supply facilities, sewerage, heat and energy supply.

A strained situation has come into being in the agro-industrial complex of the earthquake zone. Works in the majority of fundamental production facilities of the agro-industrial complex have not yet begun. The issues of construction of road networks in rural areas and water supply, sewerage, and gas construction have not yet been completely resolved. Only 4 of the 28 facilities of the processing industry have been restored. The erection of livestock buildings is going very badly. For now, 4,000 spaces have been turned over for use, but over 27,000 head of breeding stock have come into the republic, 2,100 head of those from abroad. It must be temporarily housed outside the disaster area.

In fact, today we are forced to speak not of a noticeable lagging, but of serious breakdowns in the implementation of the planned program for the rebirth of the disaster area. Both the serious organizational disorders and inaccuracies in determining strategies and tactics in the elimination of the aftermath of the earthquake, the deficient calculation of foreign experience, and the lack of an economic mechanism of administration in emergencies, and many other factors had their effect here.

Of course, it would be easiest of all to reduce the breakdowns permitted to objective causes, to the months-long blockade that squeezed the republic in a

vise during the period most favorable for construction. But I do not think that we have gathered here for that.

We have gathered here first and foremost in order to deeply and comprehensively analyze the current situation, to answer an entire range of questions which have arisen. Why is the enormous construction potential created with such difficulty and strain in the earthquake zone being used so ineffectively? Why has the activity of many organizations brought in and of the republic been reduced? It is, after all, a fact that the number of construction workers lately has even decreased while according to the planned program it should have doubled, or even tripled.

Today, we must reexamine our approaches, eliminate everything that hinders the active development of the restoration work and planning of concrete and active measures in order to radically correct the state of affairs.

S.G. Arutyunyan continued that the disaster area is a heavy burden on the entire national economic complex of the country. The Armenian people are sincerely grateful to the fraternal union republics, krays, and oblasts, USSR ministries and departments, to all those who unselfishly assisted in the republic's rebirth, who invested great effort in quickly restoring the destroyed element.

In the crucible of these projects was confirmed the high authority of the many comrades who came to the disaster area, who won the love and respect of our people with their selflessness and their feats of labor.

I would like to note the significant work executed by the organizations of the USSR Ministry of Atomic Power in the city of Kirovakan, the USSR Ministry of Petroleum and Gas Construction in the city of Stepanavan, an number of oblasts of the Russian Federation in the villages of Spitakskiy and Gugarskiy rayons. Military construction workers also made a great contribution to the restoration. The initiative of rural construction workers of the Ukraine working in Gukasyanskiy and Amasiyskiy rayons should especially be supported. They worked at an accelerated tempo, fulfilling the tasked undertaken ahead of schedule, reducing significantly the deadline for introducing facilities.

Undoubtedly, none of this comes easily. After all, in many regions of the country, social tension has grown; their own problems have become exacerbated, and unresolved issues have accumulated. It is not easy to take forces and resources away from this, to seek out additional reserves for the work of eliminating the aftermath of the earthquake.

We are seriously disturbed, and alarm is caused by the fact that the Councils of Ministers of certain union republics have curtailed the program of restoration works. It became obvious that the set goal of completing construction and restoration work over the course of 2 years cannot be realized. Today, outside the 2-year-program remains the construction of 2.8 million

square meters of housing, or 52 percent of the task set; 57,000 pupil-slots, or 55 percent; 21,500 children's preschool facility spaces, 62 percent; livestock space for 200,000, 36 percent. An entire range of other production and social facilities and engineering communications have fallen by the boards. The groupings of the construction is not being ensured.

Comrades, I would like for you to understand the full dramatism of our situation today. The difficulties caused by the earthquake are not abating. New ones are being added to them. After all, people are already spending a second winter under emergency conditions. The people are showing tenacity and understanding of the situation, but people need real prospects for the future.

The earthquake and blockade seriously undermined our republic's already poor, imbalanced economic potential. The pace of production fell sharply; contractual agreements were broken. Many enterprises and organizations were on the verge of financial collapse. Disruptions began in the consumer market. The flow of refugees that washed over the republic exacerbated the housing problem and the problem of the population's employment to the extreme, and intensified among the broad masses the sense of social and national defenselessness. People were strained and tired, which could not but worsen the atmosphere of general dissatisfaction.

Several crisis processes intertwined into a tight knot. This is what defines the extreme complexity of the situation in the republic today.

I am convinced that the most effective means for removing the tension is the early correction of matters in the disaster area. There are present here representatives of the union republics, ministries, and departments of the country. I think that we could all manage together to break through the course of the restoration work. This will instill optimism and regenerate faith.

S.G. Arutyunyan further stated:

As we know, at our proposal, the current situation in the disaster areas was considered by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo in October of last year, and concrete tasks for the decisive improvement of the state of affairs were set for the party, soviet, and economic organs both of our republic and those of other union republics, krays, oblasts, USSR ministries and departments.

The Politburo noted that the acceleration of the entire range of construction and restoration work in the affected areas of Armenia must be viewed as a priority state and political task, as a moral duty to people suffering misfortune.

Unfortunately, the work of the realization of the decisions of the Politburo is developing slowly, both on the part of the USSR organizations, ministries, and departments, and the union republics.



We have gathered here today in order to plan concrete measures and mechanisms to correct the situation in the disaster area, and to give new impulse to the construction and restoration work. Since comrades are going to speak after me and analyze the situation in detail, I would like to pause upon only a few of the principal issues.

We cannot but see that within the disaster area, a powerful production base has been created in a short period of time. Over 60 construction-assembly trusts and associations have been formed; over 350 brigades and trains. Approximately 100,000 people are employed in them; of these, almost one-half are residents of our republic. Business contact of local party, soviet, and economic organs has been refined with the organizations brought in.

In effect, the very important work in anticipation has been created; with full involvement in the work and effective use, the development of a wide form of construction and restoration could be ensured.

What is interfering with this? Above all, we have not managed to set up a flexible system for administering the construction and restoration process. Neither the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers, nor the republic commission for eliminating the aftermath of the earthquake, nor the headquarters of the union ministries and departments, nor the local party and soviet organs have yet provided the comprehensive leadership of all the complex processes in the earthquake zone. Evident is a disconnection in the administration of restoration work in the disaster area, a lack of coordination of the actions of numerous organizations.

I think that it is necessary today to work through the precise mechanism of the administration of the entire complex of the elimination of the aftermath of the earthquake, to create the corresponding organs both at the republic and the union levels.

S.G. Arutyunyan emphasized that the republic Gosstroy is fulfilling its functions as a general designer and contractor in an unsatisfactory manner. The organizations brought in present many claims against it. The necessary coordination of the work of the investigators and the designers is not provided; constant architectural-construction control over the implementation, comprehensiveness, and quality of the general construction plans is not adjusted. Gosstroy has in fact not taken upon itself the functions of a genuine state organ implementing a single urban construction policy in the republic.

In summation, we cannot today begin the massive construction of the affected cities and rayon centers, nor can the potential of the organizations brought in be put into wide action. Telephone stations, free-standing trade, sports, medical, services, academic, and other facilities have remained outside of the construction program.

The position taken by the State Commission for Architecture under Armenian SSR Gosstroy is surprising. How can we reconcile ourselves to the fact that in the disaster area, the construction program for 1990 has not yet been provided with full documentation? A final decision on the new territories of construction of Leninakan has not yet been worked out. Until recently, construction was done in Spitak and Akhuryan without a general plan. A mechanism for the restoration of the architectural and historical monuments of the Kumayri nature reserve has not been created, and the priceless frescos of Minas are perishing.

In assigning exclusive importance to individual housing construction, the Armenian CP Central Committee Buro adopted a special resolution. In the disaster area, 11,800 land plots were allocated to individual builders; construction of 5,500 residences has begun. Of these, by the end of the year, about 2,000 had been built with a total area of 200,000 square meters. I want to note that before the earthquake, we built as much in the republic as a whole as was built last year in the disaster area alone.

Yet the results would have been much more weighty if Gosstroy, Gosagroprom, the republic Ministry of Trade, the Aykoop, the "Armpromstroyaterialy" production association, the party gorkoms and raykoms and the local soviet ispolkoms had been more efficient in the resolution of the issues of allocation of land plots, the sale and supply to the population of construction materials and products. After all, at many trade bases there remains a large quantity of unsold cement, fittings, and lumber.

Everything should be done this year so that individual housing construction in the disaster area take on an even broader scale:

Today, it is necessary for the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers to review its work in the earthquake zone. We have not managed to reorient the republic's entire national economic complex toward the resolution of the immediate tasks of the disaster area to a sufficient degree.

It is now important to maximally activate all our internal reserves and possibilities. However difficult it is, we ourselves must bear the fundamental burden of the matter of eliminating the aftermath of the elements.

Can we reconcile ourselves to the fact that in the city of Leninakan, with such a vast scale of destruction, the construction potential of Yerevan and other cities and rayons is being utilized unsatisfactorily?

It is necessary that the Armenian CP Central Committee, the republic Council of Ministers, Gosplan, and Gosstroy, together with the city and rayon party committees, ispolkoms of local soviet of people's deputies correct this situation in short order. Not a single facility in the disaster area should be a no-mans-land. Every city, rayon, every ministry and department of the republic must have a concrete, intensive task in the disaster zone.

It is completely intolerable that under the conditions of a significant shortage of qualified cadres in the republic, 11,000 people, including 5,000 from the affected cities and rayons, left for construction in other economic regions of the country last year. Under our circumstances, this is not only impermissible, but immoral.

We must achieve the exclusion of an exodus mentality. In this period so difficult for our people, not a single person must seek work beyond the borders of the republic.

It should be said that a constant constraining factor in the reconstruction work is unsatisfactory material-technical provision. It should be directly recognized that the current decentralized supply of basic construction materials, under which almost all resources, from cement to nails, are transported thousands of kilometers from their republics by the organizations brought in, is wasteful and has not justified itself. It would be expedient to consider the issue of a transition to centralized allocation of material-technical resources, having balanced their volume with the complete program for the elimination of the aftermath of the earthquake. This issue, as the issues of the centralization of the planning and financing of the construction and restoration work by ourselves and other republics has been presented to the USSR Council of Ministers, USSR Gosplan and Gossnab on more than one occasion. However, they have not yet been resolved. The Armenian CP Central Committee first secretary noted that even the union Government has weakened its attention toward the disaster area.

He said that our opportunities are also being insufficiently utilized today. We could not provide the accelerated basis for the republic construction industry and the industry of construction materials. Disrupted to a significant extent was the fulfillment of production plans of cement, slate, aggregate reinforced concrete constructions and other construction materials and products. It is unforgivable that under these circumstances we are lagging so with the introduction of new capacities at the Ararat cement-slate combine.

It is finally time to bring order to this important sector of construction; without order it is impossible to resolve the complex tasks of the rapid restoration of the disaster area.

Serious shortcomings continue to take place in securing normal life activity for the affected cities and villages. People are indignant over the unsatisfactory operation of the trade, communal, and household services, transportation and communications, and the lack of turn-around and poor functioning in the corresponding ministries and departments, local soviets and economic organs.

It is very important that when the mass settlement of homes in the disaster area begins to ensure the wide sale to the population of furniture, refrigerators, televisions, and other durable goods. In this regard we consider it necessary for the USSR Ministry of Trade to think of

allocating the funds in a timely manner. Or let us take individual construction. The erection of many individual homes is practically completed, but because of the lack of glass, slate, and lumber, their occupancy is being dragged out in an impermissible manner.

These issues must be under the unfailing control of the party and soviet organs, and the trade union organizations, since their timely resolution will in many ways be conducive to the easing of social tensions in the disaster area, noted the Armenian CP Central Committee first secretary.

There were present at our conference the secretaries of the city and rayon party committees, the chairman of city and rayon ispolkoms. They work under difficult conditions. Unfortunately, we are losing people even now. Our comrade Senik Arutyunyan, Amasiyskiy Rayon party committee first secretary, recently died at age 42; he genuinely burned for people's concerns. It is difficult for everyone. Yet we must do everything possible and even the impossible in order to lead the republic out of a complicated situation all the more quickly.

To a decisive degree, the success of the cause depends upon the organizational and political work of the party gorkoms and raykoms and the primary party organizations. The task consists of intensifying attention to people, their everyday concerns and demands, of creating normal living and labor conditions for those who are working in the disaster area. The disaster area today is a proving ground for testing all our party, soviet, and managerial cadres. The situation here itself requires the highest responsibility, discipline, and a creative approach to the cause.

The issue of accelerating the fortification-restoration work is a principal and important one. It must be at the center of our attention. As you know, the fundamental forces are now concentrated on new construction. But the affected cities and rayon centers remain in a state of destruction, increasing social tension and people's dissatisfaction.

According to the specialists' assessment, subject to restoration and fortification are 1,327 residential buildings with a total space of 2.4 million square meters; 70 schools totaling 52,500 square meters; 72 kindergartens with 16,000 spaces, and about 400 various public buildings and structures, requiring no less than R1.5 billion. This exceeds that planned preliminary program by a factor of more than five. It should be frankly admitted that there has until now been an underestimation of this cause in the republic; many forces of construction organizations and enterprises have not been included in restoration work. Instead of measures being taken, fruitless arguments and discussions are held.

It is a serious miscalculation that up till now fortification-restoration work has not been developed, that the concept of conducting it has not been worked out, and that the appropriate technical documentation is lacking.



It is impermissible to leave the old sections of the cities of Leninakan, Kirovakan, and rayon centers in such a state. It would be correct to form a special competent commission for final planning of the conception of fortification-construction work. We must determine precisely the formation of the program of these jobs, and work through the actual mechanisms of their implementation, and the opportunities to expand their own construction base and involve in this work the contracting organizations brought in.

Considering the current situation, we would assume it necessary to confirm in the USSR Council of Ministers a program for increasing the capacity of construction, assembly, repair, and restoration organizations of the Armenian SSR.

In conclusion, S.G. Arutyunyan said: We absolutely must correct the state of affairs in the elimination of the aftermath of the earthquake. This is not so much an economic problem as a major political problem. Its successful resolution is one of the most effective means of restoring our people's faith in tomorrow. I would like to appeal once again to the union republics, the USSR ministries and departments to unite efforts in this name.

In speaking of the course of the restoration work in the earthquake zone, O.V. Bortnev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Emergencies cited detailed data testifying to the unsatisfactory pace of the construction.

Not all the construction organizations have coped with the contracted volume of the construction-assembly jobs for the restoration and construction of cities and villages. Particularly unsatisfactory is the work of the construction organizations of the Kazakh SSR, Tajik SSR, Moldavian SSR, Uzbek SSR, Estonian SSR, the USSR Ministry of Electric Power, and the Leningrad city ispolkom. The construction workers of the USSR Ministry of the Nuclear Power Industry worked better than others, providing 15,400 square meters of housing in Kirovakan, and the the USSR Ministry of Petroleum and Gas Construction, 19,200 square meters of housing and 140 kindergarten slots in Stepanavan. The Councils of Ministers of the union republics, the USSR ministries and departments are not taking the necessary measures for fulfilling the tasks established for 1990, either. In the 2 months of the current year, only 5.2 percent of the annual volume of work has been completed.

The starting program adopted in the cities for this year by the organizations brought in, despite the large number of sites at which construction has begun, is significantly lower than the tasks established by the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Government.

With such an approach in 1990, not only will the lagging permitted not be reduced, but, on the contrary, it will grow even more.

He emphasized that the ministries and departments must adopt supplemental measures to make up the

lagging permitted in the enterprises' construction, and that USSR Gosstroy should offer the republic concrete assistance in assembling the equipment they need. It was also noted that the construction organizations of the Armenian SSR are not undertaking enough efforts to eliminate the aftermath of the earthquake. The Armenian SSR Council of Ministers and Gosstroy must, without wasting time, consider this issue and concentrate the fundamental forces of its construction workers on restoration work, in addition to involving in this work the unemployed able-bodied population and refugees.

Russia invested almost R1 billion in Armenia last year. Basic funds of R246 million were introduced. The volume of the contracted work is R617 million; incidentally, the plan has been 100.6 percent fulfilled. These figures were made public by A.A. Babenko, chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers. I do not agree, he said, with the idea that the RSFSR, like other republics, has lessened its attention toward Armenia's affairs. It is another matter that we have not been able to do everything possible. It seems that the breakthrough is starting today. This is expressed in the active arrival of people. Over the last 2 weeks, literally 1,600 people have been added. Of course, we must redouble our efforts.

We must create a stable transportation system for Armenia, and if we do not do this, nothing will change. I hope that the Ministry of Railways will solve this problem quickly. I also think that we here are not working enough, and our comrades must labor very seriously in order to solve the problems that have accumulated. Together with the appropriate services of the Armenian SSR, we must find new approaches to bringing to the construction local workers, the republic's cadres.

Deputy Chairman of the UkSSR Council of Ministers V.Z. Borisovskiy spoke of the successes of the Ukrainian construction workers, as well as of unresolved issues. He noted that despite all difficulties, last year, their organizations completed over R180 million worth of construction and assembly work in Armenia; 970 private residences totaling 11,000 square meters were turned over for use, exceeding the plan for 1989. In Gukasyanskiy Rayon, the 2-year target for housing construction was fulfilled in one year, and the targets for construction of rural schools and water conduits was also overfulfilled. In Akhuryanskiy Rayon, the "Shirak" poultry factory was turned over a year before deadline, but in Kirovakan, only 4 residences were turned over for use.

The basic reason for the disruption of the tasks is the unsatisfactory operation of rail transportation. In effect, the blockade of Armenia has paralyzed work on construction projects and ruined the technology of monolithic housing construction. We now have at our disposal in Armenia the production potential that would allow the tasks set for us to be resolved in this current year.

The speaker paused on issues of providing transportation and temporary housing for the arriving construction workers, and supplemental provision of material resources.

Deputy Chairman of the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers, republic Gosstroy Chairman **N.M. Makiyevskiy** spoke on the affairs and concerns of the construction workers from Kazakhstan. The tasks of the construction organizations along with the oblast leaders who arrived, and the construction trusts of Kazakhstan were recently discussed. In the current year in Leninakan, eight extra construction trusts and house-building combines are being included in the work. The Kazakhstan representative expressed a number of requests concerning the material-technical and financial provisions of the construction projects.

**L.M. Makaryan**, general director of the "Armpromstroy-material" production association said that the expeditious measures for the development of the production of local construction materials have been adopted by decisions of the republic government; a new production association has been created, new equipment received, comprising 20 percent of the total quantity of the park.

An analysis of the state of affairs shows that under the current allocation to the branch of the necessary land plots for new quarries, as well as stone-cutting machines, half of which have not yet been received, and the laying down of railroad branch lines, the engineers would have better results.

Each phase of the restoration presents new problems—they were covered by **K.D. Ambartsumyan**, the chairman of the Leninakan city soviet of people's deputies ispolkom. He emphasized that because of the untimely construction of flood water defense devices both in the new and old sections of the city, buildings are threatened with flooding.

It is necessary to take the completion of construction of the Eastern and Western Bypass roads under special control. The further utilization of the central roads by freight transportation is impossible, since the pollution of the city airshed is presently 15-20 times in excess, and it is impossible to reconstruct streets and roads that are in fact unsuited to transport traffic in an organized fashion.

The stationing of construction subdivisions and their production base within the existing city negatively affects that city's sanitation condition. Yet the possibilities on hand do not allow us to implement effective construction debris removal from the city. Naturally, a special section must be created under "Glavarmenstroy" to take up these jobs permanently.

The construction workers from Uzbekistan and Estonia set up beyond the city of Spitak are leading us on, said **N.G. Muradyan**, first secretary of the Spitakskiy Rayon CP committee. Having occupied for a construction base

25 hectares of arable land with the constrained territory of Spitak, they are actually working in other regions.

A great hindrance in the growth of the construction and restoration work was the slow pace of the development of the general plan of the city of Spitak. A corrected map of the new general plan was confirmed only on 11 March 1990.

The state of affairs in the old section of the city is cause for alarm. The work of compiling the normative map of microseismic regions has not yet been completed.

To this day, the program for the construction of large-panel and monolithic housing structures has not been defined, despite the fact that the allotments were made for this last year.

The course of the construction and restoration of the Spitakskiy Rayon railroad complex, at which 12 sites have missed the planned targets, causes serious concern. Moreover, certain organizations brought in, construction workers from Ufa and Odessa, left over 2 months ago, thus threatening fortified sites with disruption. The republic ministries and departments, with their subdivisions in the city of Spitak and Spitakskiy Rayon, have not yet begun construction of departmental housing space.

In his speech, Chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers **V.S. Markaryants** said: I think that the issue under discussion at the conference has political, economic, moral, and psychological aspects, and touches upon the vital interests of the entire population of one of the 15 republics of our Union.

A great deal has been done in very short periods. Today, probably nobody will try to otherwise. Everyone who was in the earthquake zone during the first days gave to the victims everything they could, if only to ease their fate, to assist in a disaster. Many issues were resolved by the party Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, and the union republics, thanks to which was begun the work of compiling the map of microseismic regions, the development of draft-plan documentation, and the creation of the capacities of the construction organizations, the bases for the construction industry and the construction materials industry and the building of sites and communications.

You all know full well the losses during the earthquake period, and the tasks which were posed for 2 years. You also know well the results of the first year of construction, and the causes for the failure to fulfill the tasks set. Comrades have already spoken of them today. Of course, the easiest thing to do in talking about the difficulties is to ascribe all the failures to the blockade of the republic. I must say that many have not refused to blame matters on one another; in addition, they resort to dishonesty, trying to accuse others, without having a basis for doing so. Yet our memory and conscience cannot remain silent; they do not give any of us peace; they remind again and again those who have already forgotten the

causes that in addition to the blockade, there is the disorganization, the slowness, and the lack of discipline, which reached an upper limit, and the decisions taken but not fulfilled, there were simply evasions from fulfilling the volume of jobs, and these volumes included neither in the plan for last year nor this year. After all, many organizations do not yet have a full complement of construction workers, framing, materials, machines, or mechanisms. In no period last year did the number of workers reach the inventory norms. And so it is no accident that the work indices turned out to be different. While the organizations of the USSR Ministry of Petroleum and Gas Construction and the USSR Ministry of Atomic Energy fulfilled construction and assembly work of housing, other facilities of the social infrastructure on a level close to 100 percent, and almost fulfilled the target for introducing housing, and the construction workers of the Ukraine, a number of krais and oblasts of the RSFSR, and military construction workers did fairly well over the course of the year, the organizations of the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers, the Uzbek SSR, the Leningrad city ispolkom fulfilled construction and assembly work on a level of only 13-30 percent. And the "Kazleninakanstroy" and "Leningradarmstroy" production associations did not finish a single residential building, and a number of other organizations completely ruined the indices set in the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee. This list could be continued.

Plans for the construction of engineering networks for communications and boilers were ruined.

However difficult this is to do, I must say in particular that we are not doing everything; the pain of the victims has begun to resound less sensitively in the hearts of the people responsible for the restoration of the national economy of the affected zone.

This was looked over both in the minor plans that were established both last year and this year as well, and in the residual principle of planning material resources, and in the fact that we do not get answers for questions in letters for 3-4 months. The other union republic and union department leaders and I sign a heap of letters, but there are no answers. And what is a letter that has been lying around for 3-4 months? It means that a cause has halted for that long; it means that the growth of the construction organizations' capacities has stopped. Moreover, the issue of recalling the construction subdivisions is being raised by a number of republics; a portion of them has already been recalled. The inattentiveness is shown in the fact that a finished cement plant is not providing 800,000 metric tons this year (the first capacity is 1.2 million metric tons). You can ask as many pointed questions as you like, and get indignant, but in the meantime, gas is needed at the plant, electric power is needed at the plant, and quarry equipment is needed. So, there is indignation, but nothing else exists. Who is unaware that there is a blockade on the gas pipelines, that the republic is not getting its norm of gas, or who is unaware that electric power capacity is down 40 percent, and that the republic has been forced to switch to a

reduction in television broadcasts, and that that blockade of rail and auto routes was not lifted in time.

Indisputably, the republic government evaluates all that has been done with gratitude. We value everything that was done last year. The specialists' calculations show that without the assistance of the country's Government, the union republics, ministries, and departments, it would have been impossible for Armenians to restore the destroyed economy by their own efforts even over 10 years. Yet in reporting the situation to you, I would like to say with particular persuasiveness that the people affected are living under difficult circumstances in their own homeland. Over 50,000 people in many regions of the country remember with grief that today they cannot return home. It is not the sense of indignation and dissatisfaction with the situation they are in that overcomes people. They are simply bearing all this patiently. They have great human offense, a fear of the restoration prolonged by periods, a plea to us all to help and to help once again in returning them to their native places and native hearth. To help them obtain permanent housing, work, the opportunity to bear, raise, and bring up children and live normally, preserving their national customs. The growing gap between word and deed, promises and their fulfillment is offensive to them.

It is clear to all that the past cannot be returned. Yet we need a strategy and tactics for the future. In analyzing the state of affairs, it is not difficult to note that other than the USSR Ministry of the Atomic Energy Industry, the Ministry of Petroleum and Gas Construction, a number of organizations of the Ukraine, not a single organization, not a single union republic is ensuring the fulfillment of the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee Resolutions of 1989-1990. And it is offensive that the levels for 1990 have been taken as less than the actual level of the base created. And a number of organizations took plans less than last year's level. In a work, the assigned and the accomplished cannot be brought together any way at all.

In all locations, facilities for trade, public foodstuffs, consumer services, health care, buildings for working with citizens at their place of residence, a number of industrial facilities with an agricultural designation and communal facilities are not being taken into the plans. That is, comprehensive construction is not ensured.

And this works out to be a clever little dodge here: It would seem as if all the republics' design organizations do not wish to work. In order to design, they have to have a questionnaire, but in order to get a questionnaire, they have to have good relations with the contractor. And the contractor says, I am not going to build. And since I am not going to build, it is not possible to design.

The indices are formed of concrete facilities and the concrete striving of the people organizing the implementation of the resolutions. Unfortunately, many do not have that striving; they have forgotten people's tears and promises. These are the sad suriminations we have today.



In our view, we must draw conclusions from last year's work experience. Otherwise, we will never correct the matter. I appeal first and foremost to USSR Gosplan, USSR Gossnab, and USSR Gosstroy.

The status of the implementation of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolutions on the issues associated with the restoration of the destroyed economy in the republic is clear to everyone. The organization of the resolutions' implementation has not gotten the proper support of the organs that were obliged to take up their execution at the stage of plan formation.

V.S. Markaryants spoke further on issues which in the Government's opinion must be resolved in special procedures. These are intensifying the draft work and control over the implementation of the decisions made, and failing to consent to the plan formed for 1990, which specifies the reduction of indices; the limits of construction and assembly work have not been determined; material resources have not been fulfilled, and sources of financing have not been determined.

He said that after investigating the buildings and structures, it became clear that R500 million will be little for the restoration work on the buildings and structures remaining intact. They have now been determined at a quantity of R2.2 billion, with the volume of work to be R15 billion according to the specialists' estimates. And that means that it is necessary to outfit new repair and construction organizations with equipment and machines that have not been allocated and for which sources of financing have not been determined. Organizations are being created in the republic that already this year will complete work worth approximately R300 million (last year, R250 million worth of work was completed). They must be outfitted with equipment; people must be taught to increase capacity. Buildings without fortification and repair cannot be permitted to stand 2-3 years; we will simply lose them, and people live in many of them. And if there are the usual shocks, we will lose people. This is a problem facing the republic and the rayons not included in the earthquake zone, including the city of Yerevan.

Individual union republics have brought the matter to a displacement of work. We understand that they have a great many problems and that they must be resolved. But how can we do this? After all, entire rayons remain out in the open.

They must be considered in as short a time as possible and decisions must be made. We are prepared to present all the calculations again and to participate in the development of ideas.

Speaking of the cause for the lack of local construction materials, the chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers said that a deep study of the issue showed that there are many causes for this, and that they are well founded. Above all, these are the poorly developed and neglected base, the worn-out equipment that has reached

its limit. There were also miscalculations in determining the volumes of the development of enterprises for producing local construction materials.

The error has been corrected; calculations have been made. We have no issues in which there could arise problems at the buildings sites, other than clean gravel and the per-stone price.

An independent association has been formed; plots have been allocated for quarries. And now it is necessary to give them equipment, at least in the second quarter of this year, to resolve the issues of preparing construction for the production buildings of light industrial enterprises, to allocate 2,250 metric tons of various types of metal, and to accelerate the entry of imported equipment.

In conclusion V.S. Markaryants stated that we have all passed through the first, difficult period after the earthquake. There were errors, there were groping decisions, there were lessons to be learned, a test of strength, and many other things that did not allow the work to unfold quickly. All of that is behind us now. For the most part, the volumes of the construction and the approaches to it have been determined, and the period of choosing the solutions has practically been completed. Consistent work is needed, and the mutual responsibility of the grass roots and the center. We must return to the Armenian people faith in our strength, in the possibility of genuine friendship of the peoples of the republics of the Union. To put it frankly, the Armenian people are in a burdensome, disastrous situation because of the raging elements and destruction, and are morally crushed from the losses and the provoked interethnic clashes. Yet this is not the first trial in the people's history. It bears in its heart from generation to generation gratitude toward the people who helped them endure, survive, and acquire a homeland, hearth, and peace.

That is why in expressing gratitude for what has been done, we ask you to help the republic, to help the Armenian people get out of this zone of trials more quickly, to fulfill within the next 2-3 years the remaining work in the comprehensive construction of the affected cities and villages of the republic. Even now it is necessary to increase the number of those working in construction by no less than a factor of three.

As far as the comments, criticisms, and suggestions expressed to the republic organizations are concerned, we shall analyze them thoroughly and will do everything in our power to accelerate the conduct of the work.

**D.A. Kochkin**, deputy minister of USSR power engineering and electrification, **V.V. Yermolenko**, deputy minister of water projects construction, **V.M. Vidmanov**, RSFSR minister, chief of the "Rosagroprom" administration, **V.A. Kudrin**, chief of the Stepanavan "Necher-nozemagrostroy" association, **Yu.Z. Balakshin**, RSFSR minister of the construction materials industry, **E.A.**

**Mebetov**, deputy chief of administration of "Kirgizagropromstroy," and **R.S. Mkrtchyan**, Armenian SSR minister of light industry spoke of the work now being done by their departments in the earthquake zone, about their problems and concerns. It was emphasized that among the causes of the lagging construction of individual sites is the lack of the necessary draft-budgetary documentation, the unstable supply of construction materials, particularly tuff, to the construction site. The issue of repairing the construction equipment through the efforts of the organizations of Armenia has not been resolved. The construction workers brought in are also troubled by the shortage of powerful earth moving equipment and dump trucks, the issue of financing and contracting the water pipes and sewerage and natural gas pipeline network has not been resolved.

Because of the lack of equipment, a second capacity for the production at the Nalbandyansky quarry of non-ferrous materials amounting to 500,000 cubic meters annually has not yet been introduced; the restoration work on the Karnutskiy quarry has not yet been finished. Repeated appeals to USSR Gosstrib on matters of the allocation of the necessary equipment have not yielded results.

In his speech, USSR Gosstrib Deputy Chairman **V.P. Batrakov** reported on the efforts undertaken by the country's Gosstrib to provide restoration work with equipment, apparatus, and other materials which will promote the acceleration of the course of eliminating the aftermath of the earthquake.

In summing up the conference, **V.Kh. Doguzhiyev**, USSR Council of Ministers chairman, USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Emergencies chairman noted that all the proposals, comments, and requests expressed in the speeches will be presented to the USSR Council of Ministers for final processing and realization. They will also be discussed at the coming conference in Moscow with the participation of the governments of the union republics, ministries, and departments, which will take place in mid-April. **V.Kh. Doguzhiyev** gave concrete instructions to the leaders of USSR ministries and departments, and to the governments of the union republics, including that of the Armenian SSR, and to the representatives of the construction organizations for the radical acceleration of the work in the earthquake zone. The topical tasks associated with overcoming the lagging in the realization of the construction program specified by the resolutions of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on issues of eliminating the aftermath of the earthquake were included in the minutes of the conference.

#### **Belorussian Oblast Soviets Elect Leaders**

90UN1837B Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 28 Apr 90 p 1

[Unattributed article: "Initial Sessions of the Soviets"]

[Text] The organizational sessions of the oblast-level Soviets of People's Deputies, New Convocation, worked for two days in Grodno and Vitebsk. The BELTA correspondents who attended these sessions have reported to us as follows:

**GRODNO.** Aleksandr Dubko, chairman of the Progress Agroindustrial Kolkhoz-Combine, Grodnenskiy Rayon, and a USSR people deputy, was elected to fill the vacated chairmanship of the oblast-level Soviet of People's Deputies as a result of elections, based on the alternative principle, which continued during the course of the day by secret ballot. Permanent commissions were approved, and the presidium and other organs of the oblast-level Soviet were elected.

On the second day of the session's work elections were held to the ispolkom of this oblast-level Soviet of People's Deputies. After a detailed and thorough discussion, Dmitriy Artsimenya was again elected chairman by an open vote.

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**VITEBSK.** Elections of chairman of this Vitebsk Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies were held on a competitive basis. But Vladimir Grigoryev, first secretary of the Belorussian CP Vitebsk Obkom had no serious competition from his rivals.

Nor was there any alternative candidate to the post of ispolkom chairman, now occupied by the present chairman, Vladimir Kulakov.

The participants in this session formed the oblast-level Soviet's presidium and permanent commissions elected deputy chairman of the oblast-level Soviet and the ispolkom, and they discussed other organizational matters.

#### **Latvian Supreme Soviet Debate on Draft Independence Declaration**

90UN2021A Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 12, 15, 16 May 90

[Three-part article, under rubric "First Session of Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet, 12th Convocation": "Discussion of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Declaration Entitled 'Restoring the Independence of the Latvian Republic'"]

[12 May 90, p 3]

[Text] Deputy **A. Bel**

Deputy Rubiks issued the appeal to defend our nation's welfare. It is on that point that we shall begin. Several years ago, in the Central Market pavilion where meat is sold, a line formed in front of one of the shops. The line was not too long—about 20 or 25 people. For the most part they were women about 70 or 80 years old, or perhaps even older, who were poorly dressed. The item being sold was bones. At one time there had been meat.

on them, but now the bones had been scraped clean, and contained only thin protein films in places. I asked whether the old people wanted to please their dogs. "No, sonny," a gray-haired old lady explained to me, "if you boil them three times, you get a nice little bouillon." Is there another country in Europe like this, where the people have been reduced to such a miserable condition? As for the Latvian state system also, the only things remaining are bones, the bones of people who were subjected to tortures and who were shipped out, the bones of persons who had been tormented and who had perished. Latvia does not have any decent products for the living or any rest for the dead. Is there another country in Europe like this, where graves are officially defiled? Latvia today is a land where those who defended the nation are buried alongside of those who destroyed it. In order for this not to happen, we demand independence!

The task of every state is to guarantee the life, property, and rights of its residents. "You are entering territory where a person's life does not have any value." That is a quotation from an order issued by the German general staff in the summer of 1941. Both in the Hitler Reich and the Stalin "reich," human life did not have any value. A long period of time has passed, and we no longer have concentration camps or mass murders, but still we cannot say that in Latvia human life is sacred and inviolable. You know the number of murders that occur in Latvia every year. You know that our average life expectancy is steadily decreasing.

What is life in Latvia like? Poet Uldis Leynert was killed in the street when he was slightly more than 30 years old. Writer Evald Vilks died in a hospital as a result of substandard medical treatment when he was slightly more than 50 years old. Poet Oyar Vatsiyetis was carefully examined in the middle of the day and nothing dangerous was found, but by evening he died, at the age of 50. Poetess Ariya Elksne mysteriously fell out of a window when she was at the height of her creative powers. Poet Klavs Elsberg was found dead after falling out of a tall building, and he was not yet 30. But to this day there has been no conscientious investigation. He was the indisputable leader in his age group—the group of young people. They were all first in their field and also the first to go. We could not preserve their lives. We were incapable of doing that. I do not blame any specific individuals. It was the helplessness of society, its inability to protect the life of its residents. In order for this not to happen, we demand independence!

But what about the protection of property? At the present time, criminal elements are robbing, stealing, and swindling. And large organizations are robbing us of the sea, rivers, and the air. In Latvia, the gulf has been stolen from us. Our Daugava has been changed into a sewer canal. Riga, which at one time was famous for its transparent, pure drinking water, is today forced to drink water practically out of a cesspool: unboiled water is dangerous to the health. In Ventspils the air has been

taken away from us, and the land is choking. In order for this not to happen, we demand independence!

These questions must be resolved by our common efforts, we are told. Yes, it would be a good thing to resolve things jointly, but the attitude of the USSR government to the needs of the Latvian nation, the Latvian people, which attitude it has demonstrated up to now, is like concealed genocide. If the course of events is not changed, we can expect annihilation. The USSR government is doing practically nothing to reduce the alarm felt by the Latvian nation. On the contrary, the policy of genocide is camouflaged by words about the flourishing of internationalism on Latvian territory. Latvians are declared to be violators of tranquility, and our concerns about the preservation of the nation are declared to be the manifestations of nationalism and extremism.

There also remains the question of law. Perhaps the most important thing that man has won in his long historic path from the caves to skyscrapers in the unceasing war against monarchs, empires, dictatorships, and tyrannies is law. But what is the current situation with regard to legal support? What is the reason for Lithuania's unexpected leap across the abyss of the blockade? What is the reason for Estonia's quiet stubbornness and for Latvia's decisiveness? Specifically the shortage of law. Of course, it is only the final lack of rights that forced nations to rise up against the domination of a dangerous militaristic giant. Driven into a situation from which there is no way out, even a mouse will attack a cat. The law governing departure from the USSR, or, to put it more accurately, the law preventing such departure, forced Lithuania to be the first to take the difficult path of restoring its independence. The law governing the official state language caused shivers to run up the backs of the small nations. So did the hundreds of instructions issued by the center, the thousands of official orders, the disparity between the word and the deed, etc. That is what is forcing the Baltic peoples to demand their independence.

I know that human life is short, but I have always lived with the hope that my nation would have its day in the sun. I am not saddened by the end of my life. What is unbearable for me is the loss of the people's life. But if there is sitting in this auditorium someone who wants to divide our property, I advise him to wait a little bit—we are still breathing. This is our last opportunity to survive, and we are using it. Therefore we demand the independence of Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Russia, Georgia, the Ukraine—all the states where it is necessary to preserve human life and to assure that it become sacred and inviolable.

Who are we in the eyes of the world? I hope that you will understand me although I admit that other problems have become even more critical. Today mankind's main problem is the ecology. Our earth is already burning. The world's governments remind me of madmen who rush into a burning building instead of extinguishing the flames. On the present territory of the USSR, the Aral



Sea has been destroyed. The center of Russia has been converted into desert plowland. Yes, you heard that correctly, however terrible it sounds: desert plowland. The Gulf of Riga has become a cesspool, etc. Therefore, I appeal to the USSR government: stop holding the nations by the hands. Stop oppressing the small countries. Stop inciting people against people. The land is on fire. The fire of ecological catastrophe will also spread to our house tomorrow. So I appeal to the USSR government to recognize all the shackles of the Stalinist tyranny to be rotted away. I appeal to that government not to tighten the bonds, but to untie them. We shall become free of the nightmare of injustice that is still ruling our nation. Therefore we demand independence! God, give us Your support!

#### **Deputy R. Rikard**

Seventy years ago a Constituent Assembly was convoked in Latvia. On 1 May 1920 its first session was held in this very auditorium. The democratically elected Constituent Assembly continued the formation of the Latvian state that had been proclaimed on 18 November 1918. The Constituent Assembly had unprecedented popular support. Eight-five percent of the residents of Latvia who had the right to vote took part in the election. Never before in the history of Latvia had the voters shown such a high level of participation. And that is completely natural, since the Latvian nation was realizing its self-determination in the classic way. First of all in 1919 and in early 1920, when that nation took weapons in hand to defend Latvia. Then there followed legal self-determination by means of the Constituent Assembly. That legal self-determination was expressed at the 27 May 1920 Constituent Assembly by the adoption of the Declaration Concerning the Latvian State. That constitutional act consisted of two articles. The first article states that Latvia is an independent republic with a democratic state system. The second article states that in the sovereign Latvian state the power belongs to the people of Latvia. That was the determination made by the Latvian nation. Those two articles were included almost without change in the 1922 Constitution of the Latvian Republic, and they have not lost their legal force to this day. It was only by the direct democratic method of the popular vote that these articles could be changed, but no such vote has been conducted to this day. Therefore these articles continue to be in force. Thus, the Latvian nation has never abrogated its sovereign rights—not in 1934, not in 1940, and not today.

Today, in adopting the declaration, we redefine that boundary that was defined by our grandfathers. We tell the entire world once again: these two articles are the boundary beyond which we will no longer retreat. In negotiations with Moscow, we are ready to make compromises, but the boundary beyond which we can no longer retreat has been defined. Retreat means the death of the Latvian nation. If anyone has any doubt about that, let him recall 5 October 1939, when the Latvian government yielded to crude force. We are seeing today what that led to. In 50 years a people with a guaranteed

future—the Latvian nation—has been brought to the brink of annihilation. It is not necessary to be a scientist specializing in demography to understand what it means when a nation becomes a minority in its own state. Factually speaking, the Latvian nation is also in its grave, except that that grave has not yet been dug. But already bustling along that grave are the well-paid gravediggers and those who feel that a small people in such a strategically good place on the shore of the Baltic Sea is an unnecessary hindrance.

In adopting the declaration, we are not threatening anyone. We are only beginning to eliminate the consequences of an international crime. This is understood by the democratically minded inhabitants of Latvia of all nationalities. This is understood by the democratic forces in Russia and other places. In adopting the declaration, we also are undertaking to implement it, and to implement it in such a way as to live in good harmony here in Latvia with our neighbors, with everyone.

Seventy years ago the president of the Constituent Assembly, and also the first president of our state, Yanis Chakste, conducted a session by sitting in front before an auditorium in a place to which we have now turned our backs. During the 50-year period, not only that auditorium, but also Latvia as a whole, was turned inside out. Today we are beginning a historic turnabout, in order to return Latvia to its normal position. A turnabout from totalitarianism to democracy. From ruin and poverty to prosperity. From lawlessness and oppression to freedom. And when the path to freedom and democracy in Latvia becomes irreversible, we in this auditorium shall return to our normal state. We shall turn our gaze there—to the Daugava that carries our fate. I appeal to the deputies to adopt the declaration in the form in which it was presented in the draft.

#### **Deputy I. Kozakevich**

Today, at this moment that is so historic for Latvia, for the Latvian land, and for the nation of Latvia, we here in this auditorium have heard in a new way arguments that we have already heard. We are again speaking of revolutionary ideals. We are again attempting to extend a discussion about history. We are again quoting various historic documents, which we have presumably been lacking, in order to make the decision that we will make today. We are speaking about those people who, with faith and hope, met the summer of 1940.

So let us not renew here or at this time the discussion based on the historical topic. This has been done—and done competently—by the historians. Let us not repeat what has already been discussed at USSR Supreme Soviet with regard to the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. Let us not talk any more about 1940, which has been discussed with sufficient competency by historians from Latvia and the other Baltic countries.

We speak of those who met the summer of 1940. But I want to say that people were three times deceived—the national communists, and not only the communists of

the national republics, in Latvia and in other countries, who attempted to unite two ideas: communist ideology and the healthy national interests of peoples. One might recall how that ended for the Polish people. By the physical annihilation of the communist party in the 1930's, a process that continued after 22 July 1944.

One might recall how those hopes of uniting that which cannot be united in the history of Latvia ended in 1959. He who was deceived believed that the summer of 1940 would defend Latvia against occupation. But it did not do so. Latvia twice became the victim of occupation. Finally, a person who was deceived was the person who believed that he would be able to avoid the terrors of the Stalinist totalitarian system, which "guaranteed" the people of Latvia its physical annihilation, and a road to Siberia.

We are asking once again the question of whether we have the right here in this auditorium to adopt the Declaration Governing the Restoration of the State Independence of Latvia. We talk about a referendum. I do not want to repeat here the platitude that Latvia was made part of the USSR without a referendum and without a nationwide vote, which was in contradiction to the Constitution of the Latvian Republic that was in effect.

The question is asked here, "Where are the official minutes that confirm the will of the people?" Those are the minutes of the results of the elections not only to the Supreme Soviet, but also the minutes of the elections to soviets at all levels. When the voters in Yekabpils Electoral Okrug No. 129 voted for me, they voted not for Ita Kozakevich. They voted, through me, for the idea of Latvia's independence. And only for that idea, just as many other voters voted, as you can see from the absolute majority in our parliament, for Latvia's independence. Therefore I feel that, in the name of the absolute majority of the people, we have the right to decide this question.

Finally, I would like to say a few words as a representative of a national minority. It is painful for me to hear that the ideas of Latvia's state independence is being incorrectly linked with the national question. People say that if independent Latvia should ever become a reality, that will inevitably occur at the expense of the other peoples of Latvia. Let us look at the first two points in the Constitution of the Latvian Republic. It is stated there that "Latvia is an independent democratic republic." But the attitude to us, to the minorities, is a gauge of democracy. I shall be so bold as to say that after 1940 we in the Latvian Socialist Republic could not be proud of this democratic attitude toward the national minorities. I say this not only on my own behalf, but also on behalf of many representatives of minorities. In the past two years the situation has been changing sharply. Step by step we are returning to democratic practice. So I, as a member of the coordination council for Poles living beyond the eastern border of Poland, am completely aware of how the questions of the national minorities in

the republics of the Soviet Union are settled: how that occurs in RSFSR, how it occurs in Kazakstan, in Belorussia, in the Ukraine. And I can state with full responsibility that we are many steps farther ahead. And the closer we get to Latvia's independence, the more we approach the maximum democratic attitude toward the national minorities.

I would like to appeal to all of you here to execute your parliamentary duty very intelligently and properly. We are here not to give disinformation to people from this rostrum. We are here in order, on a legislative basis, to improve national relations and to give people specific legal guarantees. Therefore I hope that one of the first laws that we adopt will be a law governing the rights of the national groups.

In turn, I do not feel that we will allow anyone to use this high parliamentary rostrum for the purpose of appealing to the inhabitants of Latvia or the workers of Latvia to engage in strikes. Because it is completely obvious that that leads to destabilization in the republic. We were elected to this forum in order to resolve Latvia's problems intelligently, and primarily by parliamentary means.

Finally, a few more words about this document. This declaration is not only the will of the faction made up of the parliamentary majority, and not only the voters who stand behind them. All you have to do is to look carefully at the historical processes of recent years and you will see in them the objective historical necessity for the development of democracy. The development of democracy is the completely natural and inevitable consequence of the fact that the East European countries are finally receiving their real state sovereignty. The inner historic necessity is such that, together with democracy, there has been a rise in the people's striving for an independent state system. These processes are continuing in the Baltic. These processes have also begun and are developing at a headlong rate in the union republics. Therefore I ask those of you who are now objecting to this document to think about whether you are hindering the objective course of the historical process. I also am in favor of adopting this declaration today, here, and in the form in which it was presented to us.

I would also like your permission to use this opportunity, inasmuch as during the first half of the day mention was made of the relations among the peoples of the Soviet Union, to read a short phototelegram that arrived in Russian.

"The delegates to the Sixth All-Union Conference of the organization of the Crimean Tatar National Movement salute the session of the people's deputies of Latvia, who were elected for the first time in the past 50 years by means of a democratic election, and wish you firmness in implementing the goal you have set: the restoration of an independent and free Latvia. To your freedom and to ours!"

[15 May 90, p 3]

[Text] Deputy A. Plotniyeks

The nation is waiting. All of Latvia today has frozen in its tracks and is waiting for our decision. That decision is necessary and it has matured not only in our own interests, but also, I would say, in broader interests.

We have said much today about the nation of Latvia and its fates, but we should also remember that the policy of perestroika on which the nations of the world have placed and are placing exceptional hopes is skidding. There continues to be a slump in the economy, and therefore the Latvian state, in the condition in which it finds itself, cannot be an active economic factor for its own nation, for the Soviet Union, or for the world. If we want to take the first step forward to reinforce perestroika, we must assume the real responsibility for reviving the economy. And we will be able to assume it only in the event that our republic becomes an independent state. That independent state will be able to play its role as an intermediary among Russia, the Ukraine, and the developed European countries. It is necessary to create a kind of shuttle phenomenon—an "economic shuttle," that would serve the interrelationships between West and East. Secondly, Latvia could be a testing ground, a truly realistic testing ground for that economic policy that is currently failing in the Union, since the centralization that is personified by 18 million bureaucrats has not been broken, and today I do not see any real signs that would attest to the fact that that centralization will be broken in the near future.

In turn, if we evaluate that process from the point of view of the broad interests, it is obvious that today we must demonstrate a model of our Motherland that will guarantee all the indigenous inhabitants of Latvia, irrespective of their nationality, irrespective of their status as a Latvian citizen, human rights to the fullest extent—and that is very important.

Thirdly, we must also be aware of where we are living and at what time, and how we will be able to live. From this point of view, obviously, we must come out in favor of reinforcing the relations of mutual needs, friendship, and cooperation with the Soviet Union, but on the basis of bilateral, completely equal treaties of an international nature. From this point of view, taking into consideration the fact that the time has come to adopt the Declaration Concerning the Restoration of the Independence of the Latvian Republic, I at the same time, on behalf of the people's deputies of Yelgavskiy Rayon, with whom we have discussed this question together, propose that you think carefully about certain amendments and additions that, in my opinion, ought to be made in that declaration. First, Articles 1 and 2, which contain an evaluation of the historical facts, should, I think, be supplemented by a special norm, that would sound like this: "To proclaim the restoration of the Latvian Republic as an independent state within the

boundaries defined by international treaties." Then we will be stating clearly what we actually want.

Then, instead of the norm stated in Article 8, it is necessary to include a more categorical formula. I propose for your consideration the following norm: "To create the Latvian Republic as a free, democratic, demilitarized state that guarantees the human rights that have been proclaimed in all international treaties to all the inhabitants of Latvia, irrespective of their status as citizens of the republic, and that guarantees the free development of all national communities." While speaking about the republic that we want to see in the future, we are taking into consideration the real situation—we are not situated on an uninhabited island, or in a desert somewhere. We are aware not only of what happened prior to 1940, but also after 1940, and, obviously, no one sitting in this auditorium will even think of relinquishing the enterprises that are situated on the territory of the republic, enterprises into the creation of which our nation invested its spiritual and physical energy. And, obviously, in this regard also we must declare this norm: "To consider the Latvian Republic to be the legal successor of the Latvian state that was proclaimed on 18 November 1918 and of Latvian SSR." Consequently, we are taking over everything and continuing it. That is, everything that is on this land is ours.

In turn, when speaking about those legal acts on which we will rest in our creativity, we must not imagine that we will be able to create in a single day or a single night an absolutely new legal system. I propose, instead of the formula stated in Article 4, one that is almost analogous in content, but that, at the same time, differs slightly from it. The formula will sound as follows: "To establish that the Latvian state will be organized on the basis of Articles 1, 2, 3, and 77 of the Constitution of the Latvian Republic, and also the Latvian SSR Constitution that is in effect and the norms of laws that do not contradict these points." Thus, we will have a legal construct within the confines of which we will be able to organize and implement state authority on the territory of the republic.

As for our future relations with the Soviet Union, I think that Article 9 in the version in which it exists today has not stated enough. First of all, I think that we are all in favor of negotiations, and therefore, when expressing our point of view, it is necessary for us to propose to the other side that it express its own point of view, and that can occur at the negotiations table. In this regard I propose including in the declaration the following norm: "To propose to USSR Supreme Soviet that it declare to be null and void the 5 August 1940 Law entitled 'Inclusion of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics,' as being unconstitutional." That law contradicts the requirement of the USSR Constitution that the republics are united voluntarily, as a result of the free expression of their will.

And, finally, my last proposal. I propose supplementing Article 9 by a separate norm that would contain a clear



and unambiguous formulation of our position relative to treaty relations and cooperation with the Soviet Union: "To declare the readiness to develop friendly relations and, on a bilateral basis, to develop economic cooperation with the USSR, and to coordinate foreign policy and questions of defense." Thus we will create a construct within the confines of which the very process of renewing our state system will be dynamic. We shall open the doors for negotiations and hold them open, ready to participate in creating the new European house and in forming a new world community.

#### Deputy V. Zarkovs

Actually, our nation is waiting for decisions from us. Every day we deputies have to answer questions about what is awaiting us ahead, and where we are going. Today the thing that is most alarming for us is the fact that, despite the overall appearance of tranquility, there has been an increase in the tension among people. The relations among people are getting worse. The sociopolitical situation in the republic, in the awareness of certain individuals and entire collectives, is being heated up by the use of all means, both sophisticated and frankly crude. There has been a catastrophic reduction in the social protection that people are receiving, and an intensification of the attacks on the historic values of Soviet citizens, such as the October Revolution, socialism, and Marxism-Leninism. The heaping of abuse on the CPSU, military personnel, and the army as a whole is continuing. Refusals to go into active duty in the Soviet Army have taken on mass proportions, and everything that is Soviet or Russian is discredited.

Today activists from a number of public movements, using the conditions of democratization, are attempting to divide people on the basis of nationality. Hiding under the ideas of national rebirth that are dear to the heart of everyone, certain of our political figures want to turn history back, and are feeling nostalgia for bourgeois ways. Rejecting socialist choice, they propose dividing people into the bosses or masters, and those who work. They propose breaking the bonds of a solidarity that links millions of Soviet workers of all nationalities and republics, and propose seceding from the Union. The leaders of the People's Front are adherents of this path. The representatives of the civil committees call for this choice.

For us this path is unacceptable. Most of the people living in Daugavpils are in favor of a Soviet Latvia in an integrated USSR, and the preservation of the integrity of the country as a federation of equal republics with a stable balance of rights and obligations, of independence and responsibility. We are in favor of the republic's complete economic independence. But we are categorically opposed to the breaking of the fraternal bonds that link us with the entire Union, because it is only by working together that we can resolve the very complicated tasks of perestroika everywhere—in the country, in the republic, and in our city.

The city residents have instructed us to convey a message to all the deputies to the Supreme Soviet. A few days ago there was a rally of many thousands of people in the city, and the city dwellers instructed us to convey that message to the Supreme Soviet. Today I would like to convey not only that message, but also the message from 49 production collectives in Daugavpils who literally only called on the telephone. I would like to read only one such telegram that was sent to the Supreme Soviet by the Committee of Workers in the City of Daugavpils.

That telegram reads, "The events that are developing at the first session, 12th convocation, confirm the indisputable fact that we are observing in our republic, under the pretext of an expression of the people's will and of absolute democracy, a replacement of the constitutional system, a replacement of Soviet authority. The principles of democracy are being trampled by the rigid diktat of the People's Front and its adherents. A faction made up of the majority of the People's Front is forcing on the deputies program conditions and direct actions that are aimed against the individual and against the labor collectives. A workers committee representing 42,000 workers from the city of Daugavpils declares unambiguously that in the event that any decisions aimed at causing a break with the Soviet Union are made, the city's workers reserve the right to protect their interests by the methods and forms that are acceptable in all the civilized countries. We give warning that if the agencies of state authority do not rise up to protect the individual, the individual will find ways to defend himself and those close to him. People's deputies of Latvia, think this over carefully. Do not play with people's sacred feelings. Be prudent. The Committee of the Workers of the City of Daugavpils."

The same recommendation has been made by 49 production collectives in the city of Daugavpils.

I would like to ask all our deputies once again to return to Article 5 of the Constitution and to look at it again. The most important questions of state life are presented for nationwide discussions, and also put to a nationwide vote, a referendum. Therefore we deputies of the city soviet, and I, both as the chairman of the city soviet of Daugavpils and as a deputy to the Supreme Soviet (there are nine of us here who are deputies to the Supreme Soviet from Daugavpils), in the event that such a declaration is made, reserve the right to carry out not a consultative, but a constitutional referendum of the city of Daugavpils, to decide whether to be part of the USSR or to be part of an independent democratic state. The questions of Latvia's state system must be resolved not by parliament, but by referendum.

#### USSR People's Deputy I. Kezbers

Yesterday we applauded and joyously hailed Vaclav Havel. Yesterday there were also in this auditorium deputies who, having received that congratulation, did not applaud and did not hail him. That is a personal matter for every deputy, but it is just that, listening today

once again to the debate, I detected the fact that the old double standard is returning to our auditorium. Thus, we can apologize to the Czechoslovak nation for a criminal act in 1968. We can apologize to the Hungarians for invading their country in 1956. And we can apologize to the Afghans. But concerning what happened in 1940, the most brutal period of Stalinism, we say today that it was legal, that it was a normal process of the development of our republic. I feel that every honest person understands that the 1940 error must be corrected. To no lesser degree it is one of the attempts today to speak and to adopt that declaration, to return the nation's values to that nation. It is the sole sacred duty. I definitely do not want the double standard to return here to our auditorium in the way it used to dominate in the life of our entire state during the past 50 years.

It was very strange for me to hear Deputy Rubiks state that he was speaking on behalf of all the Communists of Latvia, on behalf of the working nation. I want to say once again that the Independent Communist Party of Latvia exists in Latvia. Our difference lies in that we stand and rely on the Latvian nation and Latvian land, while you stand on a platform. I want to say that a platform is a moveable concept. And in this regard I would like to say once again—and this is a very critical factor—that the Independent Communist Party of Latvia supports these documents. I want to say that we support the document as it is connected with those that are being presented and formally introduced only today. It is not without its shortcomings, and I think that the editorial commission and we ourselves, as we make statements, will make our own corrections in it.

I want to make a few of my own. First of all, the declaration is a document that broadens our complicated path of life in this century. I can go this far to support what has been said in the document with the changes that were expressed by my associate, Deputy Plotnyeks. But that was the past. The only paragraph that mentions the future is the ninth. Its last sentence reads, "For negotiations with the USSR, to form a governmental commission." I feel that that does not say enough. It is stated in a narrow way, because you know that if the word "negotiations" is used, a counterstrike will begin instantaneously. We are talking about consultations, about the broad scope of bilateral relations. And it is indisputable that it "takes two to tango." There we obviously have to preserve the possibility of responding, the possibility of this dialogue, of broad dialogue.

I also propose broadening the governmental commission. I think that we need much broader dialogue at the governmental level. I would include the deputies in that dialogue, and would also include the representatives of public organizations. Only by this means will it be possible, as I perceive the situation, to create a broad dialogue. Only by this means will we be heard.

And now a few words about the international aspect of the declaration. I would like very much for us to understand today that this declaration means much more than

what our nation wants. We are talking about our return to Europe, our return to the world. I feel that in other documents, which I shall not name now, we must speak about inclusion in the Helsinki-2 process. We must demand at least the status of observer during this transitional period. And we say this very clearly and concretely. Once again I want to ask the broad public to proceed not only from the majority of a parliament that I congratulate in every way.

And, in conclusion. This declaration must be adopted today. The Latvian nation is waiting for this, as are the inhabitants of Latvia who want to link their fate with a truthful future without double standards. They must trust us.

#### Deputy I. Berzinsh

I think that, when accepting this important document, it is necessary to take into consideration not only the situation in the world and in Europe, but also, undoubtedly, the situation in the Soviet Union. The struggle being waged by the inhabitants of the Baltic states for the restoration of their independence is closely linked with the struggle being waged by the democratic movements of Russia and the other republics of the USSR for their goals and tasks. The slogan "For our freedom and yours" is being heard in Moscow, in Leningrad, and in Siberia, as it has never previously been heard.

I recall that in 1968 only four bold individuals went out to Red Square to protest the aggression in Czechoslovakia. This year, during a May Day demonstration, many tens of thousands of residents of Moscow and other cities demanded freedom. But the freedom was not for themselves, but for Lithuania. And the most popular colors of the flags at those demonstrations were the colors of the flag of Lithuania. The Baltic—or, rather, our place in this process, our indecisiveness or our slowness to act—would be a hindrance to all the democratic movements in the Soviet Union. Therefore, it is not only the nations of Latvia that expect this decision from us. All of Russia, to which the future belongs and alongside of which we shall live eternally, also expects this decision from us. Because we cannot move anywhere else. And, of course, a nation cannot be free if it oppresses other nations. Let us help that nation to get rid of that task—the task of oppressing other nations. Otherwise we will have to return once again to the quagmire of totalitarianism. In that instance we will not be able to stay in place.

Secondly, Europe. Very dynamic processes are occurring there. First of all, it is necessary to mention the decomunization of Europe. Secondly, the reunification of Germany. And, thirdly, the creation of new relations among the European countries. All this forces us to rush to be including in this new European order. I want to support completely USSR People's Deputy Kezbers who made the previous statement and who emphasized that our place in the Helsinki process, in the continuation of that process, is very important. And that place will not be

occupied if we do not accept the declaration today. Because, geographically, we continue to be situated in Europe. Consequently, both the East and the West, and those processes that are occurring in the south and the north, force us to hurry. The analysis of all these processes makes it possible to conclude that the time has come. It is now or never!

[16 May 90, p 3]

[Text] Deputy O. Shchiptsov

The "overwhelming majority" in this auditorium can vote that there wasn't any World War II, or, possibly, will cancel its results. The "overwhelming majority" in the auditorium can vote that white is black, and black is white. Nevertheless, my dear colleagues, I request that you listen attentively to my point of view, that does not coincide with the point of view of that majority.

Once again, for I don't know which time in history, we are asked to "get into a fight" and then analyze it. You all know what has come out of that. But I want to say that we have our head, and we must not follow anyone's examples. We must travel our own path.

A new monopoly on ideas and views is arising before our eyes. Once again the slogan "Whoever is not with us is against us" hangs in the air. I recall the words of a Latvian voter. She said, "If you are elected, please do something, anything, about the television and radio programs. Previously the only things I could hear were CPSU, CPSU, CPSU! Now I turn on informational programs and I hear People's Front, People's Front, People's Front!" I feel that that voter expressed the opinion of many people.

When recalling Latvia's history, I often think: why do people feel nostalgic basically not for the period from 1920 through 1934, but for the last "six bright years"? That was when an excellent monument was set up to commemorate the hidden freedoms. Yesterday in this auditorium I mentioned the name of Edgars Andersons, the very famous foreign Latvian historian. He wrote in the book "History of Latvia, 1920-1940. Foreign Policy": "The authoritarian regime (Ed. note: of Ulmanis) extraordinarily raised the national awareness of the Latvian people." Just take a stroll through the exhibition "Latvia Between the Two World Wars." It is a very instructive exhibition. In 1922 there were 30 Russian gymnaziyas [high schools], but by the end of the last "six bright years" their number had been reduced to one-fifteenth that number: that is, only two remained. The number of Latvian gymnaziyas during the total period of those 20 years was stable—approximately 53. There is food for thought at the exhibition for the Russian person today. There is also food for thought for me, as a representative of public education—against the background of the tendencies of modern higher education in the republic.

In a recent issue of ATMODA newspaper, an NFL [Latvian People's Front] figure remarks that "we are

experiencing the birth of healthy nationalism." That is a very just comment. Personally I do not consider the words "nationalist" or "nationalism" to be derogatory, just as we cannot consider the words "communist," "communism," "socialist," or "socialism" derogatory. It is a question of convictions. Incidentally, during his entire life Ulmanis opposed socialism and did not share the views of such a movement as the "New Current." He viewed them as being "destructive for nationalism, national identity, unanimity, and unity" (I quote a phrase from a speech that he gave in 1937). But then Hitler, in order to "arouse" the German people, used two inflammatory ideas: nationalism and socialism. Why am I talking about this? Because nationalism is a great and mighty force. This must be admitted by referring to the example of the past two years in the life of our republic. I would only like to comment that there is no "healthy" or "unhealthy" nationalism. There is ordinary [obychnyy] nationalism, or, to put it more precisely, "usual [obyknovennyy] nationalism." And we must talk about this without any inhibition.

I would like to say that the leaders of nationalism, using that great idea, have recently had brilliant success in gaining popularity among the Latvian people, which in essence is profoundly international. But I believe in the Latvian "pratigs". I believe in the positive qualities of the Latvian people: its unusual industriousness, keen-wittedness, high respect for discipline, its striving for education, its fastidiousness, and its good organizing capabilities. True, foreign observers emphasize the "inelasticity of the Latvians in political life, their striving to move ahead without recognizing compromises or flexible approaches, their ability to attack sharply those who are proceeding along another path, and to reject the possibility of choice." But let us leave the foreign observers to their own conscience. I think that, nevertheless, flexibility must be victorious. "Now or never!" is a dangerous, a very dangerous bacillus. We must recognize the global responsibility to mankind for the victory of the new way of thinking on behalf of peace throughout the world, for the preservation of parity between East and West.

Gogol in "Selected Places from Correspondence with Friends" foretold brilliantly the consequences of the actions of fanatics of the idea: "'Pride of the mind' and pride of 'one's own purity,' which have reached the point of 'terrifying spiritual development,' are two dangers that stand side by side. A person who has come to believe in his own purity, and the purity and superiority of his idea, is ready for the sake of that idea (and its 'purity') to kill half of mankind." Then Gogol states, "Already intelligent people are beginning to tell lies against their own conviction, simply because their pride does not enable them to admit to everyone that they have made a mistake—pure malice alone has been enthroned in place of intelligence." How modern that sounds! Isn't that true? Therefore it would be ideal if we, in our situation, retreated from confrontation and, hand in hand, by our common efforts and using all our knowledge, built a new Latvia as a model of interethnic cooperation.



Realistically, today all the inhabitants of Latvia can be united by only one thing: the task of working together to carry out economic and political independence on behalf of improving the quality of life. It has long since been time to begin with the economy. We need those economic relations such that a person has no self-interest in working poorly. We need competitiveness among all forms of ownership, including private. We need market relations and a flexible system of taxation. Completely equal partners must operate on the single unionwide market space. They must have benefits and advantages as compared with foreigners. On the basis of concluding a union contract, we will be able to resolve many problems. If we are not successful in this, then, my dear colleagues, on the basis of law, without any fussing around, without any undue haste, I shall annex myself to you, just as, I think, that segment of the population that is protesting against the proposed resolution will do.

That is why today I cannot support the declaration of independence. I consider this document to be a crude political and economic mistake that harms the nation. I defend the interests of all the voters from the slums on Kijevas, Maskavas, Daugavpils, Ludzas, and other streets, and from the communal dwellings on Ulitsa Kirova, 101 and 103. Things are not very sweet for those people. They need economic success, rather than "hungry freedom" and sacrifices. I am in favor of a referendum!

#### Deputy A. Aleksejevs

Today we are discussing an extraordinarily important document. I would like to say a few words about my position. I feel that this important document, which defines the fate of our nation for decades, if not for centuries, cannot be adopted in two hours, or even three hours. Therefore we must discuss from all angles the possible consequences from the adoption of this document. For lack of time, I shall dwell on one proposal that was made at a general meeting of Latvian SSR people's deputies at the Daugava Stadium. The statement was made there that with complete seriousness we compute many times the effect that we will feel from the rise in prices, the reduction in the volume of production, unemployment, and the universal drop in the standard of living. In the face of these difficulties, will the nation be able to consolidate itself? Or will it refrain from rejecting our program? I agree with that statement made at the meeting of deputies and therefore I would like for the chairman of the Council of Ministers to tell us what is awaiting us, and for the nation to decide whether it can or cannot agree with that.

On the other hand, I look at other people and listen to their arguments, and I wonder what had hindered, for example, Mister Gorbunov, who has been sitting behind the presidium table for many days. What, for example, hindered Mister Bresis? What hindered those physicians who were mentioned by Mister Bel, who could not cure our famous poets and writers? What hindered our jurists from investigating the cases that were mentioned and

from finding the criminal? All these people were graduates of our institutions of higher learning, and in many instances there were people of the indigenous nationality. So I sometimes wonder whether we need Moscow in order to blame it for all our own incompetence. Then I begin to have doubts. If those same people call to us from Moscow, those people who prior to this led us to the catastrophe, can we trust their promises and their appeals? This is very serious. You heard Mister Kezbers who, essentially speaking, was fired because he failed to cope with his job. He created a new party and he headed it. There are more than enough examples of this kind. Because people want definite blessings for themselves.

If we may speak concretely, I had time after dinner to read the declaration, and this is what seemed to me to require a change. In the second paragraph, starting at the words "17 June 1940" and then continuing, I would like to replace the text by the following wording: "17 June 1940 there occurred a return to the national state system. Soviet authority was restored in Latvia and the Latvian Socialist Republic became a component part of the Soviet Union." I think that you will agree with me because these are Mister Gorbunov's words. I agree to withdraw my proposal if Mister Gorbunov refutes this statement of his and proves that it was incorrect.

#### Deputy J. Bojars

Please forgive me, but I have to begin my statement with a protest. I protest categorically against the fact that certain deputies have got the floor ten times each. This pertains to at least three of them. My statement was supported by a faction. But it was necessary to protest in order to get the floor. I feel that we should vote for a time limit and should adhere strictly to it. And there should be no exceptions for anyone.

And now I would like to discuss the text. I spoke at least three times in the faction and I beg your forgiveness for having to repeat myself. I shall attempt to be very brief, specific, and quick. I feel that it is absolutely mandatory to adopt the declaration, and I want to emphasize this for Russian residents.

My dear comrades, the Russian-speaking population that is listening to us, please keep in mind the fact that if we do not become independent, we will be completely unable to guarantee you any rights. Those rights cannot be guaranteed either for those people who are living in slums, or those who are already beginning to improve their condition. In order to guarantee you any rights, the republic itself must possess rights. Otherwise it cannot guarantee anything. You must understand this.

Concerning the text. I have already made statements many times concerning the fact that this important international document must not contain any dubious propositions. A republic cannot exist without its most

important elements—territory, population, and superstructure. The first two elements exist. But the superstructure has been physically destroyed. People were killed, were annihilated in camps, and the state legislation was destroyed.

I spoke in the faction about the fact that we must definitely ascertain why we are seceding from such a wonderful state, a state that is led by one of the best people of the decade who have been recognized in the West. We must say at least one sentence concerning this.

After the fifth paragraph on the first page, the text should be supplemented: taking into consideration the fact that the promises to give the republic real sovereignty not only have not been fulfilled, but, on the contrary, centralized absolute power has been reinforced even more in the Soviet Union.

On the second page, in the third paragraph, on the second line, after the word "territory," we should put in a colon, and the rest, as far as the period, should be removed.

I absolutely do not support any artificial legal constructs. Therefore I support Professor Plotnieks' version concerning what we must say—which articles of the Latvian Constitution we should restore and which we should consider to be null and void.

And now I would like to discuss the very last page, the very end of the declaration. I remind you once again that the 1920 peace treaty with Russia (the Soviet Union) has validity in the event that both sides recognize it. The principles of this treaty are in our interests. We support the treaty principles. Therefore I propose that the words "continue to have validity" should be removed, and we insert after the word "by treaty" the text "and other equal agreements concluded between the Latvian Republic and the USSR," since those treaties did exist, and they were good.

And now I would like to answer in Russian, since there is no need for me to convince the Latvians why it is necessary to adopt this declaration. I want to say a few words to Comrade Rubiks. He feels that the organization that he heads will be the main political and social force. But then there is no need for that force to see only one-sided information, to assert only one aspect of the facts. Unfortunately, our Latvian press also commits this sin.

For example, he said that the Soviet Army saved Latvia from the fascist invasion. The tragedy lies in the fact that it did not save Latvia, because the military actions on Latvian territory during the first period of 1941 lasted, unfortunately, only seven days. It did not defend Latvia, and that is what the tragedy is. Therefore one should not say that it defended Latvia. I will agree that subsequently it liberated Latvia. But Latvians also participated in that.

And something else. Similar one-sided assertions: "What did the Latvians who were sitting in bourgeois prisons

think?" Please excuse me, my dear comrades, but what did the ones who were sitting in Stalinist prisons think? Did anyone ask them? Recently you read the remarkable article by Latsis that appeared in IZVESTIYA. He wrote that during the Stalinist time in the Soviet Union alone—and this is correct and is confirmed by statistics—practically 70,000 male Latvians were murdered. Practically the entire male population out of 200,000 persons living in the USSR. What did the people who were basically Communists and who had been put to the wall think? Did anyone ask them?

And finally, I want to say once again that I absolutely refuse to accept the threats that are expressed here, to the effect that the voters will oppose the enactment of laws and decrees of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet. I also spoke in Daugavpils, Comrade Zarkovs, and no one told me anything of this kind. But it was the comrades who had protested in Daugavpils. There were approximately 20 memorandums. I have documents (we issued queries to Gorbachev in this regard) in which a protest is expressed against the statements made there by Comrade Alksnis. He called upon the Russians to go out into the streets and demand secession from Latvia. I can present these memorandums. Therefore, comrades, there is no need to keep shoving these compromising alternatives. And this pertains especially to those comrades who represent, as they put it themselves, the ruling party.

#### Deputy S. Dimanis

Our faction has expressed claims stating that we should have known what would be happening today. We definitely were informed about this. But you, my dear friends, are confusing public-affairs commentary with a political document, a manifestation with parliamentary sessions. That is why I was not ready. You know, it is very simple to vote for independence. It is very easy, by words that have been written on paper, to draw a line under five decades of the joint coexistence with the USSR and to pretend that nothing happened. It is more difficult to predict how we shall live in the future, what we will do if the declaration is perceived literally. We have forgotten that independence is not only a privilege of a nation. Independence is a very big responsibility. What responsibility can we speak of today if the declaration of independence is overgrown with epistles and invitations that will be significant only tomorrow or the day after tomorrow?

Yesterday I did not hail Landsbergis, not because I am poorly educated. I usually forgive people for this, since I feel that there was a reason they are like they are. But I shall never forgive the politicians or the television correspondents for their irresponsibility. Latvia is being converted into a world pauper, and one can only be terrified by that. Only time will tell what will come of this. History is not a chain of philanthropic acts, and we must keep that in mind. I do not want the same thing to happen in Latvia. We incorrectly evaluate the big international policy and the present economic situation. It was stated here that Latvia can fulfill the functions of an

intermediary. But these are not the Middle Ages. We are living in an age of completely different communication lines, and no one needs any intermediaries. Getting on the European train requires a completely different economic structure.

I would like to say a few words about history. We evaluate in a very similar manner the year 1940. The 1940 Diet, unlike us, evaluated the big policy rather accurately. At that time the adoption of the law governing the state system was influenced by many factors—by Hitler's policy, by Stalin's policy, by Ulmanis' policy, and by the economic situation in Latvia.

We want to wave our hand once and declare all the sufferings of the 1940's to be illegal. But today we are acting illegally. We are unable to eliminate one injustice by means of another injustice. And one final word. Stalin had the goal of achieving specific tasks by a definite time and by definite dates. Today we are doing the same thing. If I am not mistaken, we must adopt the declaration by 1800 or 1900 hours. Large sacrifices were needed then. Today this can cause a smile, but history is beginning to repeat itself. And this is very disconcerting for me.

#### Deputy M. Vulfsons

The preceding speaker said that we are acting frivolously and are using Stalinist methods. I want to respond by saying that Latvia has been awaiting this declaration for 50 years. Latvia is very impatient. Therefore we should not consider it to be adventurous to execute a duty to a nation which, under complicated and dramatic conditions, has been waiting for so long for its rebirth on its own small land as an independent state.

I have had frequent conversations with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov. And they always asked me to explain why the Latvians, whom they consider to be the most faithful proponents of the revolution, want to secede from the Soviet Union. I would answer that they do not want their fate to be decided in the Kremlin on the bank of the Moskva River, where the Ribbentrop-Molotov Treaty and the corresponding protocol were signed. They want to resolve their own fate in Latvia, in Riga, on the banks of the Daugava, Gauja, Lielupe, and Venta. They want the entire nation of Latvia to decide.

We have heard here today a large number of poorly thought-out, demagogic reproaches directed at the People's Front, which represents practically the entire Latvian nation. Please think, Russian comrades, about what you are doing now. In the final analysis the short-sightedness and the chauvinistic nature of your position will become obvious for everyone—not only for Latvians, but also for those people of various nationalities who want to walk alongside of the Latvians, and for many Russians.

It seems strange that you are holding so tightly onto the idea of federation when Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow

has been proposing both confederation and special status to us, and is telling us, "If you want to secede, secede!" Your position is much, much more conservative than the position of even the conservative circles in Moscow. I have heard expressed here, from the "platform," threats such as I never heard at the Supreme Soviet in Moscow. For 50 years a gag was put into the mouth of the Latvian nation, and once again the attempt is being made to do this by means of blackmail. But the attempt will fail. This will not happen.

This declaration will see the light. And if anyone thinks that threats can destabilize the situation, can intimidate the People's Front, can intimidate the Latvian nation or the friends of the Latvian nation, he is mistaken. If, Comrade Rubiks, there should occur today the destabilization of the political situation that you have warned us about, you will destabilize the situation in the Soviet Union. And that will be a step directed against Gorbachev. That is how it is evaluated in Moscow. Believe me, Gorbachev is avoiding any aggravations of the situation with Lithuania. There is a partial economic blockade, and they are not taking the risk of applying force to Lithuania. We must remember that 31 May is approaching and the situation in the world is such that people cannot play with fire in the Baltic area as they did in 1940.

#### Ivashko Addresses Supreme Soviet in Bid for Chairmanship

90UN2194A Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian 31 May 90 pp 2-3

[Speech by First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, Ukrainian SSR People's Deputy (Sixth Darnitskiy Electoral District), candidate Chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet V.A. Ivashko before the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] Esteemed comrades!

Since such a suggestion was made, I will discuss my biography in brief. I was born in 1932 in Poltava; my father was a worker, and later on an invalid. In 1951, I graduated from high school and went to Kharkov where I studied at the mining institute. After graduating, I worked for 17 years in the colleges of the city of Kharkov.

In 1973, I was invited to work in the oblast committee of the party where I worked as chief of the department of science, and subsequently as secretary. From February 1986 on, I was a Ukrainian CP Central Committee secretary for a short period of time, a year and two months, and subsequently I was sent to Dnepropetrovsk where I worked as first secretary of the oblast party committee.

I was second secretary of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee from December 1988 on, and first secretary since September 1989.



Now for the main point.

Comrades! Thinking about the concept of work of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet in the new term and, thus, the concept of work of the chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet, I have come to the conclusion that in all of these activities we should proceed from what the Ukrainian people want, as well as from present-day realities, whether we like them or not.

What do we want? The main point is that we should have a united, democratic, strong, and stable Ukraine. United—because, fortunately, for the first time in history the Ukrainian people have united in a single Ukrainian state. Democratic—because the people cannot reveal their spiritual, cultural, and productive potential in the absence of genuine democracy. Strong—because we are a large state of 52 million with mighty potential. We appeared, appear, and will increasingly appear in the international arena in the future as an independent political force. In the world, they respect those who are strong. Finally, one of the most prominent tasks of our parliament is to ensure stability in the Ukraine because they in the world respect those whose actions can be predicted. I must tell you that due to instability in the country as a whole some people have now begun to reduce, or altogether refuse us credit because they are not certain that returns are guaranteed. We should reckon with this.

Proceeding from these tasks, at present we need as never before thinking which is not clouded by anything, high standards of thought, words, and actions, and extremely acute responsibility to ourselves and to the people.

I think that, proceeding from the situation which exists in the country, the main point at present is to assert real state sovereignty, that is, the political, economic, and spiritual, sovereignty of the republic. To my mind, the sovereignty of the Ukraine includes the full power of its people within its territory, and the right to designate independently the organs of state power, administration, and the symbols of statehood. This is the right of the people of the Ukraine to restore and preserve their national-cultural originality, language, historical memory, and natural environment. This is the emergence of the Ukraine as a real subject of international relations. This is the priority of republic laws over the norm-setting acts of the government organs of the USSR, and the suspension of the effect of union laws which transcend the powers of the union. This is the state integrity and territorial unity, territorial supremacy of the Ukrainian SSR, the inadmissibility of not only changing but also using the territory of the republic without its consent. The free development of the Ukrainian people and all the ethnic groups residing in the republic is only possible if all of these conditions are observed.

At the same time, I am profoundly convinced that it will be easier to ensure the accomplishment of the very complex economic, social, and cultural tasks which we

are facing in the new Union of Soviet Socialist Republics which we should create proceeding from new realities and opportunities. To my mind, this should have, so to say, two tracks: the voluntary transfer of the functions which we will want to transfer to the union, and the development of strong direct contacts with other union republics on the principle of free will. Referring to the new union, I proceed from the historical, economic, cultural, and all other ties between our peoples which have evolved over centuries.

To my mind, we should embark on the road to a sovereign Ukraine by building a new economy. At present, there is very much talk of colonization at our session here and in other republics. It turns out that there is colonization but no parent state. It appears to me that this is not what we should address. What has brought about the current economic and ecological condition or, more precisely, economic and ecological crisis? It was the dominance of departments. This does not mean that we should create our own, Ukrainian departments instead of union departments. To my mind, Ukrainian departments will be no better and maybe even worse than the union ones because the bureaucrats will be the same but there will be less opportunity to maneuver. I think that we should ensure very shortly the complete independence of every enterprise and genuine economic accountability, because there can be no independent economy without the independence of enterprises. Proceeding from the will of labor collectives themselves, we should set up new associations, concerns, and joint-stock companies which will unite enterprises for the purpose of manufacturing products which our people need rather than around a management organ; we already have examples of this. This will make the inertia-bound system of our economy turn around and face the people.

This will also enable us to introduce real market relations in our national economy. As I see it, at present we have no other alternative, no other way out but a gradual transition to a regulated, I emphasize the word regulated, market economy. However, it will be regulated by financial and economic means rather than administrative means, taking into account the fact that the state also uses regulatory measures to ensure the compensation of possible losses and social protection of the people. We should guarantee the social orientation of the regulated market, and set forth this principle in our laws. With regard to this, I think that we should develop both the legal foundation and the mechanism of defending the economic interests of the Ukraine as early as this year.

Several words about the very difficult issues of development of our agroindustrial complex. There is a way out in this sphere: It is now necessary to turn the pyramid which was built in the form of the so-called Foodstuffs Program the right side up. We should not aim at certain accomplishments of production—they will come by themselves when we solve three fundamental problems. The accelerated socio-economic development of rural areas is the first problem. I am not going to dwell on anything in detail, because there is no time for that;

besides, all of us understand what this means. However, there is a question: Where are resources to come from? It appears to me that there is an answer. To my mind, we should now form a new government faster and instruct it to decisively and boldly turn around the process of planning capital construction in our republic as soon as this year, while the process of compiling plans for 1991 is under way. The number of construction projects in the republic increases with every passing year, no matter how much discussion of it there is. Metal, cement, bricks, roofing slate, and pipes are used everywhere, that is, the things our rural areas lack so badly. Why is it so? Because the planning of capital investments is carried out along departmental lines. Let me give an example. There is a small rayon, Verkhnedneprovskiy Rayon, in Dnepropetrovsk Oblast; the soviet chairman who is a people's deputy is present here. Several large plants are simultaneously being built in this rural rayon. They have been under construction for decades. Cement, bricks, and concrete sit there. Therefore, it is necessary to break the departmental system, and resources will be found for rural areas. I see no other way out, everything else is just more promises.

The supply of machinery for the peasants is another problem. It is a shame to visit villages where people appeal to you for help with purchasing a tractor or a bulldozer rather than, say, a color VCR. We frequently compare the productivity of labor of our peasantry with that in America, and it is not in our favor. Therefore, the peasants need to be outfitted with everything necessary in order to change the situation.

Finally, the third [problem]. At present, we do not need an increase of production of many types of farm goods because the increase of such products would mean only that we will lose more of them because we cannot process them and bring them to the people.

One more point. The peasants are to finally become real masters of the land. It is important for our legislative organ to create equal legal and economic prerequisites and ensure state support for, and the defense of various forms of economic operations on the land. Let individual and collective leasing, contracts, peasant farms, cooperatives, and collective farms coexist. However, let the peasants themselves select a form of operation.

Furthermore, as is known, our republic has considerable scientific potential. However, the opportunities it provides are, unfortunately, not being used fully. I think that things should be resolutely turned around in this sphere during the period of time which has been allotted to our Supreme Soviet for work. First, we should embark on resolving the organizational issues of developing science itself. With this in view, it would be expedient to set up a special government organ which will provide liaison between science and the government. I subscribe to the position of the autonomization of science, and primarily the Academy of Sciences of the republic which, in addition to everything else, should also be an independent expert in the course of preparing important state

decisions. We have branch science in which very many talented people work. However, this science has always defended the interests of branches. Therefore, from any point of view, we need autonomous science.

At present, preoccupation with low-income people is continuously heard in our speeches. This is absolutely correct. Still, we should spare no expense in order to sharply augment incentives for the work of scientists and designers, highly talented workers, that is, those who promote progress.

I would also like to say that under the conditions of republic sovereignty we should consider the possibility of creating new scientific entities, such as the Agricultural Academy of the Ukraine, the Academy of Medical Sciences of the Ukraine, and the Academy of Arts of the Ukraine. They will make it possible to consolidate our scientific resources for resolving important issues.

As is known, ecological problems have become the foremost among many problems in need of solutions. Relevant programs have been worked out. I think that it is necessary for the Supreme Soviet to monitor their implementation continuously and strictly.

To my mind, we should finish as soon as possible the calculation of the energy balance of the republic in order to let the people know when changes are to occur in the energy system, including nuclear power, and what changes. This will allow everyone to see what we have and think about ways to compensate for the difficulties which we will experience with the decommissioning of the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant very soon.

The Supreme Soviet and the government of the republic should create a well-tuned mechanism for managing environmental protection in the republic. We should discuss these issues within several days to come, when we form Supreme Soviet commissions and the new government.

Comrades! I am profoundly convinced that the issues of preservation and enrichment of the national originality of the Ukrainian people, and the rebirth and development of the Ukrainian national culture and the cultures of ethnic groups which reside in the republic, i.e. the issues of the spiritual foundation of state sovereignty of the republic, should take an exceptionally prominent place in the activities of the Supreme Soviet. I think that at present, after the adoption of the Language Law, the turn has come for the Law on Culture, as well as the Law on People's Education which will incorporate a modern concept of development of the national school system.

In all of our legislative activities, we definitely have to keep in mind the fact that people live on the territory of our republic who belong to more than 100 nationalities. My position on this is clear. This is absolute compliance with the rights of citizens of any nationality on the entire territory of our republic and ensuring fully the national-cultural and other interests of all nationalities, both

those which live outside the boundaries of their ethnic-state entities and those which do not have them on the territory of our country. We should ensure the multi-variant forms of the renaissance of their cultures, languages, and national traditions, including by means of creating national rayons, settlements, and rural soviets.

The Supreme Soviet faces significant tasks in the field of building a socialist rule-of-law state which is an important method of creating a society operating on the principle of self-government. The entire big job of perfecting republic legislation is to be subordinated to this, primarily, the preparation and adoption of the new Ukrainian SSR Constitution which will give strong guarantees of the rights and freedoms of the people of the Ukraine and her every citizens.

At the same time, no state can exist in which its constitution or laws are treated freely, at one's discretion. We cannot have all-Ukrainian legislation and, so to say, regional legislation. If this is going to be the case, then why on earth have we assembled here? With this in view, we should endow every law which we are going to work out here with a mechanism for its implementation. Unfortunately, while many laws have already been written, very few of them are actually in operation.

Comrades! The issues of foreign-policy activities of the Ukrainian SSR will require continuous attention on the part of the Supreme Soviet. As a UN member, the Ukraine is to continue making its contribution to reinforcing peace and international security and ensuring that new political thinking and the priority of common human values determine relations between states and peoples to an even greater degree.

In the course of events which are now under way in the center and east of Europe, we get to hear individual irresponsible appeals to revise post-war borders, including those of the Ukrainian SSR. Without exaggerating the significance of these demands, I stress that we reject all attempts to violate the territorial integrity of the Ukraine. Perhaps the Supreme Soviet should adopt a corresponding document on this issue.

The Ukraine is open to joint production in various industries, and at present such joint production is picking up steam. It is usually noted that we do not have [hard] currency resources; however, they can be found, as the experience of many joint enterprises already created in the republic indicates. I think that as early as this session we should set up a state committee for the issues of foreign-economic contacts. As a result of recent work, we already have the Inkintur [Ukrainian Association for Foreign Tourism], the republic custom house, and the republic bank for foreign economic contacts. This is the beginning of the road to asserting our sovereignty in the international arena.

This is what I would like to say in summation. At present, we need more than expediency and a constructive approach in the interest of the people of the Ukraine and of the renewal of our society. I believe that the Supreme

Soviet as a whole and the chairman whom you will elect should spare no effort to this end. Only this will ensure success.

[passage omitted]

#### **Ivashko on Political Reform, Other Issues**

90U N21531 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAYINA in  
Ukrainian 30 May 90 p 2

[Interview with USSR and Ukrainian SSR People's Deputy V.A. Ivashko, first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, by RADYANSKA UKRAYINA correspondent A. Kraslyanskyy: "I Appeal to People's Wisdom"]

[Text] USSR and Ukrainian SSR People's Deputy V.A. Ivashko, first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, replies to questions by a RADYANSKA UKRAYINA correspondent.

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[Kraslyanskyy] I would like to begin our interview, Volodymyr Antonovych, with the following question. Today various political forces and parties have become reality in this republic's affairs, a fact which is also attested to, incidentally, by the proceedings of the current session of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet. As you see it, in these conditions what is the place of the Ukrainian Communist Party? And how do you feel about certain leaders of new movements in this republic calling for the Communist Party to start from the ground up, on an equal basis with newly-formed parties?

[Ivashko] I agree with you that various political forces have become a reality in our lives. And it is not of any significance whether or not they are organized into groupings or associations. This attests to the fact that our Communist Party is honorably keeping its word that people in a socialist society can and should live freely, having different views, of course as long as they do not enter into conflict with the Constitution.

One must take this reality into consideration. And it is true that this reality is being clearly manifested in the course of the first session of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet. Everybody can see and hear this on the television and radio, forming their own opinions in this regard. As you probably know, I am an ardent supporter of glasnost in such matters, and glasnost is prevailing at our session.

What is the role of the Ukrainian Communist Party in this situation? Its role has been determined by the people. For in spite of furious attacks and attempts by some to push it from the political arena, the overwhelming majority of voters cast their ballots for Communists. Therefore there is no reason for us to start from zero. Today any individual can join together with others in any public organization. Let them start from zero or not. None of these organizations is successor to the



Communist Party and cannot more genuinely represent the people or act as its vanguard. There is nothing more to say on the subject.

In the seething ferment of the present day our party must resolutely undergo renewal, more precisely weigh socio-economic conditions, and formulate policy. But the main thing is to implement policy through the members of the Communist Party. This is a very important moment in our lives. It is not easy to accomplish all this. But in my opinion there is no other possible way to go than to proceed step by step to a renewed Ukrainian Communist Party.

[Kraslyanskyy] Probably the greatest achievement of the party, which is undergoing renewal, is pluralism of views and opinions, loyalty toward others, and a tolerant attitude toward one's opponents. Many Communists are disturbed, however, by the fact that we are excessively tolerant toward extreme manifestations such as, for example, the attempt to profane the memory and name of Lenin.

[Ivashko] I once stated that I remain devoted to three principles which in my view define civilized man. They are intelligence, civilized behavior, and responsibility. Responsibility to whom? First and foremost to oneself, to the law, to people's historical memory. Those who engage in brutal attacks on Lenin have nothing of this. Neither common sense, nor civilized behavior, nor responsibility.

Lenin is not only our leader and the founder of the Communist Party. Lenin is a figure who has gone down in the history of mankind as a great thinker.

[Kraslyanskyy] And humanist.

[Ivashko] And a humanist, regardless of what he might be accused of, snatching various quotes from his letters or notes. The problem is that for decades many people used Lenin as some kind of justification for various actions. But this is a dangerous approach, for one can always turn a citation to one's own advantage. But the truth lies in the fact that it is necessary to master Lenin's philosophy, his method, his approach to societal development. To do this it is necessary to possess profound knowledge of him, to study him thoroughly. I am sure that those hooligans who were scattering around those pamphlets with Lenin's writings on 22 April never even looked at them. And I am afraid that they had never read anything else either. This is ignorance, terrible human ignorance, a lack of any culture or awareness.

Some people forget that Lenin not only was the founder of the party but that he in fact was the founder of our nationhood. And only by returning to the true philosophy of socialism, the philosophy of Lenin, did we enable our opponents to be both in the parliament and in local agencies of government authority. I repeat, these processes became possible only thanks to the Leninist philosophy, thanks to perestroika.

[Kraslyanskyy] In my opinion the first sign of a wise politician is precise study of the situation and flexible response to changes taking place in society. In my opinion today the party is more than at any time in the past acting flexibly in any situation. But.... I was just listening to speeches at one of the plenums, and I heard how some, even top officials in certain oblasts, were thinking too much in the old manner. I believe that such a straightforward, frontal-attack policy can cause great harm, especially in present-day conditions.

[Ivashko] The party contains different people, and it is a good thing that they are different, for although the party joins together people of like mind in ideology, it excludes sameness and dull uniformity. Among these different individuals there are those who are of a more radical bent, those who adapt more rapidly to the new system, who master new party tactics, who take up the processes of its renewal. And there are also those who have more of a waiting attitude, who perhaps do not yet grasp certain things, who waver, who are slower about entering the process of party restructuring. I see no tragedy here.

You mentioned wisdom; it lies in listening to different points of view, in analyzing them and in making decisions which are maximally in conformity with practical realities and the interests of the people. This is why I have said before and I shall say again: good people, listen to what others have to say, to the ideas they express; thoroughly study these ideas and listen to them. But the main thing is that we must see the end result of a given plenum or other gathering: what is the attained result with the entire diversity of ideas and views?

[Kraslyanskyy] That has been one extreme. Another extreme is where there are those who interpret the calm, the even temper and tolerance on the part of party leaders as a sign of weakness and indecision by the party. Could there be something to this? For it seems that we sometimes depart from principles under pressure by other forces.

[Ivashko] If somebody wants to cast such an accusation in my direction, I shall state right now and in all firmness that I have never and shall never compromise with principles, because if you have compromised on principle, you are no longer in this party, like it or not. As for flexibility, as for tactics, as for human values in general, it is my conviction that the party should contain intelligence first and foremost, and then all the rest.

[Kraslyanskyy] Earlier, during the 2nd Congress of Soviets in Moscow, we talked a great deal about political reforms. Today we are seeing the progress of these reforms not in theory but in reality, if only by the composition of deputies at the session and by how people conduct themselves at the session. One cannot accept everything, nor can one approve of everything—there are still many manifestations of lack of civilized political behavior. Nevertheless, what pluses and minuses do you see today in implementation of the political reform?

[Ivashko] I see as pluses the fact that popular sovereignty is being created on a totally new foundation. It is being created in difficult conditions, and it would be amazing if everything proceeded in an ideal manner. I am very unhappy about the fact that there are few workers and koikhoz farmers among the deputies to the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet, that there are too few prominent scientists, women, and noted artists. I saw such a broad spectrum in Moscow, and you know, I do not want to offend anybody, for each and every deputy has been elected by the people, but the Soviet would benefit from a broader spectrum. And I'll tell you: already today many people are recalling with warm words the elections from the public organizations, no matter how much we criticized them. The elections from the public organizations fostered the appearance in the USSR Supreme Soviet of an entire constellation of prominent individuals.

We can expect to encounter many difficulties on the road to political reform. Right now the most pressing order of business is to consolidate our power, for the state cannot exist (we speak so much about sovereignty and a state of rule of law) until each and every individual, each and every agency of authority, each and every enterprise functions precisely within that legal system which exists. It may be imperfect in some respects, but one must work precisely within this system, for otherwise there will be total anarchy, which will not lead to anything good, even with the finest laws and declarations.

[Kraslyanskyy] Does it not trouble you that sometimes things happen in the conference hall which should not be happening?

[Ivashko] Of course it bothers me, but I am a realist and I can tell you that there must be a period of acclimatization. Heated election campaign battles, the existence of different opinions, pledges to the voters—all this requires bringing up sore points. What is needed here is more knowledge and more civilized behavior.

I am placing great hopes on the permanent commissions. I know from Moscow that when people are assigned a specific task and they give it a great deal of profound thought, they will reach for the textbooks and reference materials, and they will burn the midnight oil over them.

[Kraslyanskyy] When you observe the assembled body you think: well, knowledge and sophistication will come with time. But you frequently see outright hostile confrontations. How can one proceed with the productive work you are talking about?

[Ivashko] If an individual possesses intelligence and responsibility to his constituents, he will seek the right position. If he has no desire to do anything for the Ukraine, the session itself will in time expel such persons.

[Kraslyanskyy] Could you say a few words, Volodymyr Antonovych, about the transition to market relations? In the past you have spoken out clearly for a regulated

market. Has your position changed? Have you rejected the theory of market regulation?

[Ivashko] No market exists anywhere in the world as simply a market. That market about which Karl Marx wrote in the first volume of "Das Kapital" does not exist. That is ancient history. The market, if it exists, is mandatorily regulated. This is done in each country in its own way: by quotas, tariffs, laws, by the most diversified means. The main thing in a market is economic interrelationships which place in favorable conditions those who do a good job. He who does not do a good job will not be successful, and no regulatory mechanisms are going to come to his rescue here.

I have not changed anything in my views. I said then and I now repeat: transition to a regulated market must be flexible. In view of the fact that our country lacks such social experience, people must be gradually led to such a market. I am against leaping into the abyss.

#### **Ivashko Meets with Indian Ambassador**

90UN1837A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian  
24 Apr 90 p 1

[RATAU report: "Meeting and Conversation in the Ukrainian CP Central Committee"]

[Text] Yesterday V.A. Ivashko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee, received Alfred Silvester Gonsalves, the Republic of India's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the USSR, at his request.

At the meeting and conversation which took place A.S. Gonsalves provided information on the basic directives of the activity of the Indian government which came to power as a result of the most recent parliamentary elections. The ambassador touched upon the problems of separatism and set forth his government's opinions concerning the reasons for the worsening of the situation in Kashmir and the complication of Indo-Pakistani relations. In speaking about India's relations with the USSR, he emphasized that India wants to see the Soviet Union strong and united; it also wants to develop mutually advantageous cooperation with the Soviet Union in various fields. In connection with this, the ambassador expressed India's desire to establish ties with the Ukrainian SSR and its intention to open its own general consulate in Kiev.

At the ambassador's request, V.A. Ivashko characterized the sociopolitical situation in the Ukraine, as it has developed during the course of perestroika and the economic reform. He noted that the elections to this republic's Supreme Soviet and organs of local authority have led to a politicization of public life and to the emergence of new political forces. He expressed himself in favor of a broad-based dialogue with those who take a constructive point of view and advocated a joint seeking of solutions to urgent problems. In speaking about the

ways to make the transition to a regulated market economy. V.A. Ivashko emphasized that the Ukrainian CP Central Committee deems it necessary to reliably protect the interests of working people. The Central Committee first secretary dwelt on the problems of eliminating the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl AES, in particular, on international cooperation in this matter. He set forth the Central Committee's position with regard to problems of the Ukrainian SSR's political and economic sovereignty, as well as in connection with intra-party discussion in the process of preparing for the congresses to be held by the Ukrainian Communist Party and the CPSU. V.A. Ivashko declared that he advocated broadening the economic and cultural ties between the Ukraine and India, and he supported the proposal to open an Indian general consulate in Kiev.

The meeting took place in a friendly atmosphere. Also taking part in it was A.V. Merku, chief of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee's Foreign Relations Department.

#### **Uzbek Supreme Soviet Session on Republic's Economic Independence**

##### **27 Mar Information Report**

90US08954 Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian  
28 Mar 90 p1

[Report on the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Session]

[Text] On March 27, the first session of the 12th Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet continued its work. The meeting was opened by M.L. Ibragimov, Chairman of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet.

Sh.R. Mirsaidov, Chairman of the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers, proposed the new government of the republic. The Supreme Soviet decided to submit this proposal for preliminary consideration to permanent commissions.

Following that, Sh.R. Mirsaidov delivered a speech delineating the forthcoming work of the government and basic directions for gaining Uzbek SSR economic independence.

The debate on the speech featured Uzbek SSR people's deputies B.M. Makhmudov, A.Kh. Tadzhiyev, T.B. Rzhapov, B.K. Aliyev, E.N. Khodzhayev, S. Umarov, A.A. Kalandarov, F.T. Shaykhov, V.A. Pattayev, V.N. Sigedin, S.T. Dzharayev, M.O. Kobilov, Kh.E. Berdiyev, T.P. Khidirov, Z. Ibragimova, T.R. Kilichov, V.I. Krivoruchko, I. Yusupov, T. Zakhidbayeva, K. Khalimbetov, S. Tashpulatov and V.S. Sadykov.

The Supreme Soviet set up an editorial commission to work on the resolution on the UzSSR Council of Ministers report.

On the recommendation of A.I. Karimov, the Uzbek SSR President, the Supreme Soviet appointed R.A. Khachaturov Uzbek SSR chief arbitrator.

The Supreme Soviet elected Sh.Z. Urazayev chairman of the Uzbek SSR committee for constitutional oversight.

The session approved the makeup of the permanent commissions of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet.

The session will continue its work on March 28.

#### **Council of Ministers Chairman on Economic Independence**

90US0895B Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian  
28 Mar 90 pp2-3

[Speech by Sh.R. Mirsaidov, Chairman of the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers: "First Session of the 12th Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet: On the Path to Strengthening Uzbekistan Economic Independence"]

[Text] Respected Comrade Deputies!

The program of forthcoming activities of the republic government is firmly and consistently based on the concept and key goals contained in the election platform of the Uzbek CP and the decisions of the 19th plenum of our Central Committee. Those basic documents clearly define the goals, which in essence form the supreme meaning in the work of every government as I understand it; to care for the future of the republic and the fate of our people, for the prosperity and happiness of every person and every family in Uzbekistan.

To truly and concretely solve these problems, the government must profoundly understand and thoroughly analyze the full complexity of the current condition of the economy and the social sphere which, to keep it short, can not be called anything but a crisis. Without wasting any time, we must develop and implement clear and firm measures to find a way out of this situation and to overcome extremely grave consequences of the period of stagnation as well as the errors made in recent years which exacerbated the difficulties the republic, labor collectives and every worker individually currently face.

I mean mainly the growing poverty among a large portion of the population, a catastrophically low level of social security, spiraling inflation, an extremely irrational structure of production, high jobless levels and the want that many of our citizens suffer in the most basic of life's necessities despite the great natural wealth of our blessed land and enormous love of labor and inexhaustible patience of our people.

I think that the most important thing for the success for the future work of the government is to understand clearly the fact that a government can be considered truly people's government only if all of its actions and thoughts are constantly aimed at fulfilling the profound hopes and aspirations of the people. This is why we see it as a priority goal to implement measures to improve broadly the lives of the people. This goal, which is great in and of itself and which any government must face, imposes a particular responsibility on the government of the Uzbek SSR because the population of our republic,

through no fault of its own, currently lives in extremely difficult conditions. Whatever aspect of life we take, the standard of material and cultural life is lower here than in any other part of the country.

Noting this low standard of living, which plagues the entire republic, we should especially underscore the harsher still or, to put it bluntly, truly catastrophic conditions among the peasants, the salt of our earth, the people who make up the majority of the population and produce the largest share of national income. They are often deprived of elementary comforts. This situation is intolerable and workers of the countryside have the right to expect their government to undertake effective measures. And we fully intent to undertake them.

**The key issue in improving life in our republic is housing.** Taking this into account, several years ago, as you know, we passed a republic housing program, but it is being implemented very poorly. I will say more: if several months ago, on the initiative of the Uzbek CP Central Committee, a radical measure of distributing land for individual construction and private plots had not been started, the entire program would have failed. But thanks to the fact that broad masses of the people have welcomed this measure, rates of housing construction are now rising.

This task is extremely complex. By increasing state and private construction, we must build over 74 million square feet of housing by the end of the next 5-year plan period, or twice as much as is expected in the current 5-year period. If we attain this goal, we will provide housing for the population based of the ratio of 11.5-to-13.5 square meters per person. To do this, the government and the appropriate republic entities must solve an extremely complex problem: to find government funds and resources to satisfy the growing demand of private builders for construction materials and bank credit. For the first time, this will allow us to stem the decline of per capita housing supply which has been occurring due to higher birth rates.

Recently, the Council of Ministers passed a special decision calling for the production of cement to double by 1995, roof tiles to increase 1.5 times, linoleum over 3 times, brick 80 percent and of finishing materials 3 times. This will satisfy the demand of all housing construction sectors and obviate the need for importing such materials from other regions.

The principled position of the government is that **the housing program must be necessarily coupled with improving the availability of other basic necessities in the social sphere.** For even compared to the very poor supply of housing, the situation with schools, preschool day-care centers, hospitals, clubs and libraries is considerably worse. Over 18,000 students, mainly on the countryside, are housed in inadequate conditions; many villages and native settlements lack elementary nursing and midwifery centers, to say nothing of preschool facilities, day-care centers or consumer services.

The government will pay special attention to increasing the construction and rebuilding of hospitals: in the next 5-year plan, the volume of such work will nearly quadruple. This will increase the average per capita rate of hospital beds in the republic by 1995.

Increased construction of preschool facilities will increase their availability 1.5 times. We are also introducing a new form of day care: in-house child care centers. This will help achieve a double aim: cover more children and increase employment for women with many children. Measures proposed to bolster the educational system will help move up to 60 percent of schoolchildren to the morning shift.

**Improvement of water supply** is an extremely important task in the work of the government. There is an Eastern proverb: water is life. But the way the water situation is now—especially on the countryside—it can not be called anything but mockery of the long patience of the people. It is our shame, for almost half of the countryside population, just like 100 years ago, drink water from wells. Except 100 years ago that water was pure and was free of poisonous chemicals.

A similar situation exists with gasification. One often sees residents of a native town through which an enormous gas main passes cooking their meals and heating their dwellings with dry manure and wood. This is unacceptable. We, the republic's leaders, should be embarrassed. We would like to ask you, respected deputies, to support the government plan to accelerate water supply and gasification programs, especially on the countryside.

I want to state in no uncertain terms that social reorganization of the village will be one of the main goals of the government. We have drafted a set of measures and have defined the principle challenge: **this year and during the 13th 5-year plan period, to accomplish a major step toward bridging the gap between the social development of cities and on the countryside,** and to increase substantially the level of availability of housing, good drinking water, natural gas and health care, education and cultural and leisure facilities.

In the upcoming 5-year period, we plan to lay 18,000 kilometers of water pipes and 12,700 kilometers of gas pipes on the countryside, which is approximately three times as much as in the current 5-year period. Construction of preschool facilities will double, and that of village clubs and culture palaces will increase 1.5 times. The first major step in bolstering the public education system on the countryside will be the closing of unsafe school buildings. This year's plan already budgets considerable investments for this purpose, and this work will be completed in 1991. I am convinced that **to pay more attention to supplying the market with consumer goods and thus strengthen the monetary system** is an equally important government task. This year, for the first time in recent memory, the volume of retail goods turnover will be fully covered by available goods. There has been



a considerable increase in the supply of flour, sugar, pasta, sweets, light industry products and sophisticated consumer electronics in the stores. Deliveries of meat and meat products from the union fund have risen from 140,000 tons to 180,000 tons this year alone. An agreement in principle has been reached with the union government that annual deliveries of meat to the republic would rise by 20,000 tons, which is equal to the amount supplied by the state fund to two oblasts. Meanwhile, we continue to abide by the principle introduced this year: to let oblasts keep all the meat they raise for their own consumption.

Despite these measures, the money income of the republic population continues to rise faster than the supply of goods. This presents us with a challenge of raising the output of consumer goods. We have already found material resources to do this, and in the nearest future the government will pass the appropriate decision. This will allow us to add an extra R450,000 to the volume of goods trade this year and slow inflationary processes considerably.

I want to tell you, comrade deputies, that we already have a more or less complete concept for overcoming the imbalance in the consumer market. The government bases it on the assumption that in future years, a large share of the workforce will be employed and that the high rates of money income and consumer demand growth will persist due to rising average incomes and other factors. This requires goods production to **grow by at least one half** by 1995.

How do we intend to solve this problem? First of all, by accelerating the development of light and local industries in the upcoming 5-year plan period, which will accomplish two goals: provide jobs for masses of the unemployed and ensure greatest possible processing of raw materials produced in the republic: cotton, silk, furs and hides.

Simple calculations show the enormous potential of this business. It is enough to say that this year the republic's industry will process only 12 percent of the raw cotton it produces, 23 percent of kenaf fiber, 7 percent of synthetic fibres and 47 percent of coat sheepskins. And we do not even count certain types of raw materials, such as ungraded silk and karapakh, of which we produce over 1,500 tons. That alone is enough to make R80,000 worth of excellent, high quality handmade satin. Moreover, we produce over 18,000 tons of wool, while processing only 1,500 tons. We intend to tap all these reserves fully, primarily by fostering a network of small enterprises based on different forms of ownership—state, leased, collective and cooperative—and setting up joint ventures and stock-ownership companies both with foreign countries and other union republics.

Currently, the government is finishing drafting plans and starting to establish a network of rayon industrial complexes which in the next 2 years will be set up practically in every native village. This will not only increase the

output of goods but raise employment on the countryside. The latter should be mentioned separately, since it is an important component of the program to create jobs for the republic's population which is being worked on and which calls for finding jobs or places in educational institutions for 1.5 million people in the course of the next 5-year period.

#### Comrade Deputies:

An especially important part in the government program includes **measures to improve the environmental situation in the republic**. Priority will be granted to the task of cleaning up the area around the Aral Sea, the Fergana Valley, Tashkent Oblast, the area around Zarafshan and other regions. A broad set of measures have been submitted for government consideration; they will use central funds.

The entire social program of the government will be based on **improving the structure of production**. We are currently drafting means to overcome the current situation whereby Uzbekistan is, in essence, a raw materials appendix of the center. Our goal is to diversify and increase the existing productive potential of a number of finished goods enterprises. This means priority development rates for highly progressive, technology-intensive industries, rapid acceleration of scientific and technical progress and broad-based introduction of computer technology.

In agriculture, the goal is to improve quality indicators and to increase efficiency in cotton cultivation. The restructuring of the agricultural industry complex—whereby we are drawing away from raising a single product, i.e., cotton, and developing food-producing industries at an accelerated pace—will be continued and brought to its logical conclusion.

Priority development paths in agriculture include a general strengthening of the material and technical resources to store and process products, increased production and broader selection of goods produced by food-producing industries. To accomplish this, we are paying special attention to using the existing productive capacities. We have no right to make errors such as when equipment to produce raisins and dry fruit and vegetables was imported from abroad. Several years ago, 18 lines for processing 500,000 tons of such products were purchased abroad without preliminary analysis or approval. In practice, however, they turned out to be useless for producing raisins, whereas raw materials capacities were not coordinated with production targets in the appropriate industries. As a result, millions worth of hard currency was squandered. Our duty is to end such mismanagement.

An important part in solving the food problem belongs to the growth of private plots on the countryside and farms owned by industrial and construction plants, as well as collective gardening and horticulture. In this area, government efforts will be directed to encouraging such farms by all available means and organizing the sale of

feeds, fertilizer, young cattle and poultry and minor technical equipment to them.

The goal of cardinal improvement of the economic structure of the republic can not be achieved given the existing situation with personnel training. Today, we desperately need **a well thought-out and consistent program to prepare highly trained scientists and specialists** at all levels, from schools and colleges to graduate schools and doctoral programs. The Central Committee is already taking the necessary steps in this direction: a system of selecting talented young people is being established in the republic, a special republic fund has been set up and boarding schools for gifted children are being organized. Competitions will be held to select young men and women to study at leading educational and research centers in the country and abroad.

Pressing and urgent is the government goal of **equalizing the levels of socio-economic development** of the autonomous republic, oblasts and rayons. We want to ask respected deputies to understand us correctly and to support our undertaking, for a tremendous gap separates today the most and the least advanced regions of the republic. This is why the government will be forced to budget more funds for the laggard regions. I think that this approach remains the only correct one. If we rightly raise the issue before union entities to budget special outlays for Uzbekistan for the purpose of overcoming our lag vis-a-vis other republics, is it not our sacred duty to show at our own example that it should be done?

I should also mention the important task of granting greater rights to local soviets to run their districts. The Council of Ministers will work actively to transfer broader functions—and hence, more responsibility—to the local level: to oblast, city and rayon soviets of people's deputies. In other words, **we support democratization and delegation of authority and power to the masses and to their local representative bodies.**

These programmatic measures drafted by the government can be realized only if we solve the problem of healing the economy.

First, there should be a special treatment for agricultural industry enterprises. Farms have been given the right to draft their production plans independently and to dispose of their output as they like; purchasing prices have been raised, the agricultural market is being developed and, finally, a number of loss-making farms is being liquidated by transferring lands to the private use of local peasants. All this will bring tangible results. As to industrial enterprises, the main stress will be on developing different forms of ownership and increasing the stake of workers in the product of their labor.

Second, we have to bring order into investment policies. The goal is to end broad dispersal of funds, cut the number of industrial construction projects and stop the runaway growth of unfinished projects and excess equipment. We will actively try to attract funds from the population, cooperatives and lessees, give them the right

to buy mothballed and unfinished projects and assist them with buying equipment, thus adding new capacities at an accelerated rate.

Third, we must sharply increase the effectiveness of credit and of the entire banking system. Of course, we must put an end to the practice whereby local banking entities bankroll mismanagement, long periods of loss-making and losses by enterprises and organizations.

There are other proposals, too, which are now being attentively studied by the government. But I want to stress that all these measures will work only on one condition: **if we wage a ruthless war on laziness and disorder in the economy.** Setting an uncompromising course to democratization, we must at the same time understand that today as never before we need a high level of organization and strictest possible discipline; otherwise, we can not hope to improve the economic situation in the near future.

Comrades:

I want to stress one more time that all the proposed measures to heal the economy are ultimately meant to raise the living standard of the republic population. While struggling to improve the lot of the people, we must not leave anyone behind.

Our duty is to take care of mothers with many children, of those heroic mothers who, despite difficulties and privations, raise our children, our future. **Proposals to increase subsidies to women with large families have been drafted and funded.** This important measure is part of a broad program to improve the lot of women which has been drafted in the republic and submitted to union authorities. It is our duty to get this program approved.

A large set of measures will be implemented by the government in the area of cultural development, in the broadest possible meaning of this word. It is time to stop a consumerist, primitive approach to cultural issues. We have begun to seriously demand that even artistic unions, pure science and cultural organizations be profitable or pay their own way. It should not be so. Artists, scientists and truly creative, talented people are relatively few and the state must take care of them, create conditions for them and not be stingy, for these outlays will be returned to us hundred times over. Creative young people require special attention, and they must be given an opportunity to realize their creative potential.

We should be especially careful in our approach to the many public organizations, including unofficial ones. Today one hears different views on this issue, but let us state firmly: **there must be no distinction between official and unofficial entities.** We must divide people only into those who sincerely want to help society and make a contribution to the revival of the republic and into those who irresponsibly wish to earn political points on today's difficulties. We call on all honest men to cast aside doubt and to actively join in our difficult but noble work for the good of our people.

As you know, the republic has passed and implemented the law on language. Taking into account wishes and actual conditions, the government will act to accelerate the implementation of the program developed as the law required. At the same time, I would like to warn some people against falling into extremes and vacillating in this extremely sensitive area. We must not underestimate the importance of studying Russian as the language of interethnic communication and we should also raise the level of teaching foreign languages.

People of different nationalities live, work and socialize together in our republic. The kindness and hospitality of our people are known well beyond the confines of Uzbekistan, and we must not allow anyone to tarnish our reputation. We have firmly embarked on the path to building our political and economic autonomy and this is why we sincerely support similar aspirations of all other fraternal nationalities. We support the aspirations of the Crimea Tatars and the Meskhet Turks to return to their historic homelands and will provide all forms of assistance to the union government in solving this issue.

At the same time, I want to stress that the Uzbek SSR, unlike the Baltic republics, sees its future within the revamped Soviet federation. The government intends to solve all vital issues of our economic, social, cultural, spiritual and political development broadly and openly, in the spirit of democracy and glasnost. At the same time, we will **firmly and consistently pursue the policy of protecting the right of every citizen to peaceful and quiet life and enforce law and order.**

The great responsibility and the scope and diversity of problems facing the republic require a profound and extensive analysis and search for new, inventive solutions. Key to them must be the implementation of measures for achieving Uzbek SSR economic independence. The government program on this issue has been submitted to you.

It is necessary to stress that the discussion of this issue by people's deputies is the direct result of the actual implementation of perestroika. We must not forget that very recently, even a few years ago, it would have been a utopia to even raise the issue of republic economic independence. During decades of stagnation, thoughtful and active specialists who so much as hinted at the need to adopt this approach were labeled local patriots, if not nationalists. They were seen as practically trying to undermine the foundations of the union economy.

I think it is clear to everyone now that **economic independence is the first and absolutely necessary step toward leading the republic out of the crisis and improving the living standard of the people.**

New opportunities that have opened do not mean that this extremely complex problem can be solved easily by passing laws, even most reform-minded ones. Before attaining republic economic sovereignty in practice, and in order to do so, we must address two issues:

First, the view that extremely close mutual bonds in the framework of the union economic system, built over the past 70 years, could be easily and unilaterally dissolved in a single day and one's own living conditions would thus improve is profoundly false and very superficial.

Second, it would also be a major error to cling to the idea, which has been forced upon us, that Uzbekistan is an importing republic and that it gets a subsidy amounting to R2-to-R3 billion a year as a charity and is therefore a debtor of the union.

We must prove the falsehood of these contentions.

From this point of view, before stating the main points of building economic independence, we must look back and understand how we have reached this deplorable condition.

The main causes of it were neglect of objective economic laws, gross violation of socialist principles of economic management and erroneous economic management all of which we must eliminate and develop concrete measures to lead the republic out of the crisis. V.I. Lenin gave the following advice on correcting past mistakes: "A decent economist, instead of advancing meaningless theses, will study facts, figures and data, analyze our own practical experience and say: the mistake was made here and this is how it must be corrected."

We must honestly state that the administrative command system established in this country forced everyone to blindly accept and execute any directive, proposal or initiative, thoughtlessly extol any slogan and idea expressed by superior leaders and turn them into noisy campaigns such as "to catch and overtake", "to flood 'em with corn and meat", "to turn the republic into the nation's leader in gold and gas production" and so forth. Taught to obey blindly, officials at all levels lost their ability to think of their own actions, neglected the people and their needs and thought only of ways to please their bosses.

The direct consequence of these erroneous economic management methods was growing poverty among the great majority of the people, disrespect for honest labor which spread before our very eyes and the loss of national, historic, spiritual and cultural traditions accumulated over many centuries. The dragon of interethnic strife reared its head. People became angry and society suffered irreparable moral and physical losses.

Unfortunately, it must be noted for the sake of truth that respectable people and leading scientists often did not live up to expectations and instead of raising their voices in defense of common sense, lowered themselves to the level of the dishonest sage willing to find the appropriate verse in the Koran to justify any crime. Very recently, only 7 or 8 years ago, the works of our respected academics sought scientific proof for absurdities decreed



from above, such as endless increases in cotton production in Uzbekistan or in rice production in the autonomous republic, after which they nominated one another for unearned awards.

In that situation, the main factor of economic development in the republic became unbridled increases in the extraction of natural resources and absurd extremes in industrial specialization ordered from above, which led to gross imbalances in the economic structure, overwhelmed resource capabilities and transgressed the environmental threshold. All this has been said many times before, so let me cite only one example. In the past 30 years, practically all of the industrial production growth in the republic took place in raw materials and resource industries, such as cotton processing, fuel and chemical industries and ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy. As a result, their share rose to 60-65 percent, whereas the share of the most progressive industries, machine building and metal processing, only by 2 percent.

Like a malignant tumor on the body of the republic, futile economic and irrational interregional ties grew and strengthened: we sold raw materials and semi-finished goods while buying equipment and finished products, down to the most basic ones. Could it be right to develop certain industries while nearly one third of demand for consumer goods was met from outside?

Life has convincingly proven the bankruptcy of the supercentralized system of economic management in our enormous country. Today, we clearly see that to heal this giant economic machine, to shake it out of stagnation and, especially, to overcome the crises will not be possible under the old system of remote-control management from the center, no matter how strong or wise that center is.

It must be admitted that in the 5 years of perestroika no radical changes in the economy have occurred. The cause of this is that having begun political reform and achieved considerable progress in democratization and development of glasnost we, honestly speaking, neglected the growing need to make radical changes in the economic structure.

We still sometimes forget that politics is a condensed reflection of economics. Recall, comrades, with what fanfare the so-called innovations were ushered: state orders, wholesale trade, contract prices, barter, etc. And what happened in practice? Republics with clearly defined union-wide specialization, such as Uzbekistan, found themselves in a different situation. For us, state orders for cotton fiber and other products with unlimited demand in union and world markets covered the entire volume of production, including everything produced over plan. This meant that all of our output was distributed by union entities, who didn't even inform us who, in what countries, got our goods.

Where is injustice in this system? First, thanks to the 100 percent of state orders for our products, other republics get it as if not from Uzbekistan but directly from the

center, whereas we have no chance of concluding direct agreements with them and buy what we need. We are forced to get those goods from the center, too. Second, we get insufficient amounts of the goods we need and that only after protracted pleading, even in the case of goods produced from our own raw materials, since state orders for them do not exceed 50-60 percent and suppliers prefer to sell it on direct contracts. Uzbekistan has no such option. Our difficulties in providing goods for the economy and satisfying consumer demand stem from this, as does the fact that the republic has the lowest level of food consumption in the country, especially of meat and milk.

This is not all. The republic gets only about one fifth of the profits of the numerous union-level industrial enterprises located on its territory, even though they produce the lion's share of all output. The republic gets less than half of personal income taxes, customs duties and revenues from government borrowing and payments of self-financing banks. Moreover, we do not get our share of the turnover tax on products manufactured in other parts of the country from our raw materials. Even quick calculations suggest that this would amount to two thirds of the total revenues of the current republic budget.

As a consequence of this legalized chicanery, this sly accounting system used by central authorities, the Uzbek SSR has for many years been among republics running a deficit in their budget. What does it mean, to use a generally accessible language? It simply means that Uzbekistan has been artificially turned into a pauper which, out of charity, gets a yearly financial giveaway from the union pocket. In essence, the republic, i.e., its people, is thus put into the humiliating position of a supplicant. In reality, however, Uzbekistan contributes R9 billion of profits to the union while getting R3.1 billion in the form of so-called subsidies every year. Is it a subsidy or the other way around?

Thus, having deprived the republic of a basic right to dispose of its output, placed it at a disadvantage vis-a-vis other republics and stolen R6 billion per annum, they artificially create causes for straining interregional relations. If this approach is preserved, the new leaders of the republic—whom you, comrade deputies, have approved—face the same fate: to go from office to office in Moscow protecting the interests of the republic. God alone, aside from a limited number of republic employees, knows what it cost us to get a raise in the price of cotton. This is why we have not only been begging but have been demanding, in a dignified and well-reasoned manner, and will continue to demand, what is, in all fairness, our due.

This is why today's agenda includes the issue of building a qualitatively new system of relations between center and regions within a revamped Soviet federation; appropriate proposals are being drafted.

However, attentive study of the center's proposals shows that aside from some minor details, they are, in essence,



limited to a certain broadening of the list of industries forming the so-called republic economy. In addition, republics get some additional sources of revenues for their budgets. But even this minimal broadening of the rights of the republics is negated by the proposed taxation schemes and certain other laws.

Will we be satisfied with such proposals? In our opinion no, since they will essentially leave the existing system unchanged and therefore preserve the unequal status of the republic, so that the lag in the living standard of its people will continue to grow, too. We are convinced that **Uzbek SSR economic independence is the answer to the existing situation.** However, our path to that goal differs from the one chosen by other republics, namely the Baltic, Kazakhstan and Belorussia, because the shift to independence must take into account concrete conditions in our republic and, above all, its economic structure.

We want to be understood correctly: our search for our own model is not determined by some local interests or national ambitions, but by the profoundly understood need to create real conditions for secure and efficient functioning of all parts of management, to lead the republic out of the crisis and to improve the standard of living of the people on the basis of federal integration.

Based on these main principles, we worked out the first draft of our own system of economic management that we are submitting to the Supreme Soviet for consideration; it has been discussed and amended several times at the level of the Uzbek CP Central Committee, the government and the Gosplan of the republic and is therefore the fruit of collective labor.

Realizing that acute economic problems cannot be solved by rallies or slogans, no matter how high-sounding, we tried to take into account the opinions of specialists and other sincerely involved people, official and unofficial groups, leading economic institutes and agencies, major scientists, public figures and representatives of the intelligentsia.

Obviously, presenting this document for your consideration we do not pretend to possess the ultimate truth. This work has been done for the first time and has shortcomings. We will gratefully take all the comments that deputies will make into account.

Despite shortcomings we were nevertheless able to formulate the first draft of the concept of Uzbek SSR independence, on which extensive work will continue, taking into account everything useful that people's experience will suggest, analyzing different, even contradictory, views and extracting everything rational and constructive that they contain.

The point of departure in drafting the concept were the paragraphs of the Uzbek CP platform "Basic Directions of the National Socio-Economic and Spiritual Development of the Uzbek SSR and Improvement in the Living Standard of Workers". Our core aim was to ensure that

man and satisfaction of his needs and demands are a priority. We are firmly convinced that just as every man and every nation has the right to live the republic has the right to organize its economy independently. This demand was heard with special force in the speech by Comrade Karimov, I.A., at the 19th Uzbekistan CP Central Committee plenum. Based on this principled position, we developed the key points of the republic economic independence program.

Given that we have the concept for achieving Uzbek SSR economic independence, allow me to direct your attention to the main points:

**First**, the Uzbek SSR acts as a sovereign state within the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics organized on a federal basis.

**Second**, all resources of the republic are national property of its peoples, including soil, deposits of precious and nonferrous metals and other raw materials, capital investment and cultural and historical treasures. The main goal is to develop a caring and protective attitude to everything that makes up the multicolored and unique nature of Uzbekistan, to assist actively in preserving the originality of every region and every nationality and ethnic group and to determinedly equalize the levels of economic and social development of the Karakalpak ASSR, oblasts, rayons and cities.

**Third**, the Uzbek SSR uses its sovereign right to conduct independent social and economic policy and safeguards ethnic originality in economic and cultural life in accordance with actual natural, economic, demographic and other conditions and characteristics while fully and deliberately restoring ethnic and historical traditions and values.

**Fourth**, the republic must in deed, not just in words, have a source of self-financing.

**Fifth**, from now on, Uzbekistan will base its relations with the center and other regions of the country only on an equal, reciprocal and mutually profitable basis. Based on the same principles and within a rebuilt federation, the republic will form and develop economic and cultural ties with foreign nations, making its contribution to the union-wide and international division of labor.

Finally, **sixth**, decentralization and democratization of the economy and the entire system of economic management must be general in character and reach into all areas of production and society, covering not only industries and regions but also every labor collective; they must be understood by every worker and provide full social security to the population, especially to its less affluent groups.

The entire set of measures for achieving economic independence aims to accelerate and make socio-economic development highly efficient and lays the foundations for carrying out subsequent, extremely important state goals:

to concentrate all funds and means on solving urgent social problems and improving the living standard of the population;

to restore the economy to health based on rational use of natural, industrial, scientific and demographic resources;

to improve the industrial structure taking into account regional conditions and modern trends in the union and world economy;

to marshal creative energies of the people, to bring new sources and factors of economic growth into the economy and to truly strengthen the feeling of being masters among workers; and

to protect nature, to improve the environmental situation and to preserve cultural and historical monuments. I want to direct your particular attention to the following: we must live and work so as to leave our native land to our children in a normal condition, to enable them to continue adding to the national patrimony.

To carry out these principles, we need the involvement of the entire nation, not just a few enterprises.

We have seen in practice that the interest of individual industrial collectives can easily become one-sided, turn into group selfishness and not be concerned with, for example, socio-demographic, cultural and national aspects of life or the environment. All this can and must be regulated by the republic as a whole, steering development to benefit the entire nation. This can be achieved on the basis of determined democratization of life and decentralization of management, **by redistributing responsibility not only from center to republics but also from republics to oblasts, rayons, cities, towns, villages and farms.**

Due to such policy, we will eventually build conditions for shifting to local autonomy as an organic part of socialist self-rule of the people.

It is also extremely important that the proposed concept calls for establishing a special fund for regional development in the republic, in order to level the playing field for various territories.

It is obviously that the above-mentioned points, in accordance with the Uzbek SSR and the Karakalpak ASSR Constitutions, apply equally to the autonomous republic.

Economic independence entails clear and thoughtful division of republic and union property. Our principled position in this respect is based on the need to recognize **republic ownership of all most valuable components of the national patrimony.** These include primarily the soil, its contents and water resources which can not be sold or mortgaged. Republic property should also include public buildings; structures; equipment; goods and materials

supplies; financial resources; securities; scientific, management and other information; patents and other property of enterprises and organizations in industries which form a direct part of networks of republic management entities.

Due to the redistribution of responsibilities, a new form of state property has been identified: **communal property**, i.e., the joint property of the population and of each individual territory, be it an oblast, a city, a rayon or a native village; it is managed by appropriate soviets of the people's deputies.

I want to inform you, comrade deputies, that this concept of property is somewhat different from the one described in the relevant USSR law, which stems from special conditions in our republic and the interests of its population. Namely, in our view, **natural resources of the republic are not state property.** If this position is approved by the people's deputies, we will defend it and work to make it recognized at the union level.

First steps in this direction have already been taken. We can report today that the Gosplan has worked out proposals for a gradual transfer to the republic of a wide range of enterprises reporting to union entities, based on the economic expediency of such steps. At the first stage we plan to transfer to the republic economy enterprises of the machine-building, metallurgical, chemical and other economic complexes whose output plays a direct role in carrying out Uzbekistan economic development and which, moreover, have a sufficiently powerful scientific and technical foundation and prospects for broadening their participation in the union and world markets.

Among enterprises transferred to the republic economy will be primarily those whose production is fully based on local natural resources. The condition of the enterprises will also be taken into account, of course, i.e., whether or not they meet modern requirements.

As a result of these planned changes, the share of the republic economy in industrial production will rise to 80 percent and in construction, to 90 percent. Enterprises and farms of the agricultural industry complex, the service sector and social infrastructure will be nearly fully transferred under republic control.

The work of all enterprises on the territory of the republic that will remain in the union system **will be organized on a contractual basis, with the land, water and labor resources, raw materials, etc. used being strictly defined and compensated for.** Here, we want the deputies to state their opinion on keeping the property of enterprises, complexes and organizations of the defense industry, general state energy systems, railroad and air transport, pipelines, information and communications systems and general construction ministries of the USSR situated on the territory of the republic, as well as money from union funds such as reserves, insurance and other funds based in the republic, as union property.

These are, on the whole, the main stepping stones on the path to Uzbek SSR economic independence. Independence will become reality if we independently draft and carry out priority measures for its implementation.

What needs to be done first?

First, we must attain **full equality in our economic relations with the center and with other republics**, including also in the area of state orders and, especially, orders for the production and deliveries of cotton. Today, as you know, thanks to the efforts of the Uzbekistan CP Central Committee and the republic government, the exclusivity of cotton production here is no longer an issue. The target for cotton fiber production has been set at 1.5 million tons a year, enough to ensure the country's self-sufficiency in cotton which was attained over 60 years ago thanks to selfless efforts of the peoples of Uzbekistan and other cotton growing republics.

I want to remind you here that the country's **self-sufficiency in cotton** has been preserved, often at the expense of the interests of cotton growing republics. As to **self-sufficiency in grain**, it has not been achieved yet, nor have the problem of producing enough cattle industry products and food in general been solved, something which we have the right to expect of republics specializing on their production. I think that republics fulfilling their internationalist duty in an exemplary way ought not to be oppressed by the center but get some sort of recognition.

There is another, equally important problem. Until very recently, cotton growers felt a legitimate dissatisfaction with extremely low or, to put it bluntly, humiliating prices for this unique product. It will not be an exaggeration to say that **the miserable condition of our native peasants is a direct result of being short-changed for their hard labor for many years**. Today, thanks to determined efforts and legitimate demands of the republic, the situation with compensation in the cotton growing industry is changing for the better. Along with price increases for cotton, union entities have been asked to fund the construction of an irrigation network, including its full revamping on lands put into cultivation earlier, and social reconstruction on the countryside. Purchasing and retail prices for other types of agricultural products are being reviewed as well.

But the main factor in attaining economic equality for Uzbekistan should be, in our deeply held opinion, **a balanced level of state orders for the types of products in which the republic specializes, in line with union averages**. This primarily refers to cotton. Moreover, the placement of state orders should be broadly shifted to a competitive bidding system.

The filling of state orders for goods produced in the republic is closely linked to the supply of products which we get from the union fund. We feel that the unified economic system should not be a propaganda stick to be used by bureaucrats at the center to rule union republics.

The system must be put on an economic, not administrative footing. This is why we feel that the makeup of our sales to and purchases from other regions should be reviewed, the effectiveness of the existing terms of trade carefully weighed and, if need be, measures taken to change its structure.

In this respect, comrade deputies, I want to point out the following fact: the Uzbek SSR produces 61 percent of total cotton grown in the country, 100 percent of persian lamb, 67 percent of the a large share of gas, nonferrous and precious metals and other extremely valuable commodities; it is in third place in the union as far as sales volume is concerned.

The cost of cotton fibers shipped out of the republic in one of the best harvest years, 1988, amounted, based on state purchasing prices in effect at the time, to R2.8 billion, or \$2.2-to-\$2.3 billion in terms of international currencies. It should also be stressed that this sum is only the largest share in the total volume of output which Uzbekistan contributes to the union-wide division of labor.

There is a common opinion that persian lamb and raw silk have an important part in the structure of the republic's outside sales. Indeed, this used to be true only a few years back. But thanks to our work on the 1990 plan, this year, out of a total output of 1.4 million pelts, only 740,000 pelts will be shipped to other regions of the country, while the rest will be disposed of by the republic itself, including the 300,000 pelts that will be exported.

Comrade Deputies! Lack of openness is the reason why false rumors and notions about Uzbekistan's putative underground riches persist, those about the nearly inexhaustible deposits and output of gold, silver, nonferrous and rare metals, strategic raw material uranium, etc. I think that in order to put an end to these rumors it is time to raise the veil of secrecy and say openly what makes the Uzbek SSR one of the main hard currency-producing shops in the country. In world currencies, our annual production of gold amounts to \$790-\$910 million. Coupled with the silver mined in the republic, the total value of precious and nonferrous metals produced here is \$1.2-\$1.3 billion. Returning to the domestic currency and taking into account the uranium mined in the republic, we arrive to the total value of these resources, which is R1.7 billion. Simple comparison with the figures mentioned above shows that this sum is 1.6 times less than the price of cotton fibers grown here. This is in domestic prices; expressed in world market prices, it is 2.2 times less.

I think that this data proves convincingly enough the falsehood of the widespread view that acute socio-economic problems of the republic could be solved only with the help of gold and nonferrous metals. Numbers are facts and facts, as the saying goes, are stubborn things.

Another resource frequently mentioned in discussions of sales and purchases is the output of the Uzbek chemical



industry: fertilizers, kapron fibers, synthetic fibers and some other products. The total value of such shipments to other regions has reached R700,000 a year in the current 5-year plan.

I do not think that we could provide an objective analysis of the republic economy based exclusively on our sales. For a full picture, let us look at what we get in return and what products we get in interregional trade.

Strange though it may sound, among our purchases a dominant share belongs to raw materials and material and technical resources. Every year, we get up to 3.8 million tons of corn, 1.5 million tons of flour, 4 million cubic meters of timber, 4.8 million tons of coal, over 13 million tons of petroleum and petroleum products, 4.4 million tons of metal and up to 600,000 tons of sugar.

We also buy fair quantities of equipment, machinery, mechanical devices and instruments. For instance, imports of radio electronics amount to R365 million, of electrical and technical products to R213 million, of motor vehicles and parts to R838 million, of chemical and petrochemical machinery to R116 million, of equipment for light, food and mixed feeds industries to nearly R100 million. Overall, machine building and metal processing imports are valued at over a billion per year, or 14 percent of all imports; they supply over one half of the demand of the Uzbek economy for such types of products.

What are the general characteristics of our purchases and sales? In recent years, R9 billion worth of output has been shipped annually outside the republic, while we have been getting R13 billion worth of products, or 1.4 times more. Recalculated at world prices, these figures amount to R7 billion and R11.3 billion, respectively, i.e., the gap between sales and purchases widens further, to 1.6 times.

In terms of total physical bulk, the republic's purchases outweigh sales 2.6 times and this ratio has been rising annually. This is the consequence of the imperfect structure of the economy, artificially low prices for raw materials and high prices for imported finished goods. But the main conclusion is that close ties with other regions are indispensable to all republics in the unified economic system.

Comrade Deputies:

The outlined measures on gaining republic economic independence require a financial underpinning. We have all the necessary means for this. In this respect, I want to state my total disagreement with the fact that due to incorrect accounting for revenues from output produced on the territory of the Uzbek SSR the republic is thought to be getting a subsidy. Above-mentioned figures irrefutably support the words of the republic President that Uzbekistan has never been a debtor. On the contrary, others are probably in debt to it. To restore justice and truly strengthen the foundations of economic sovereignty, the following is being proposed:

First. Financial revenues of the republic **must include an added share of the turnover tax** levied in other regions of the country for processing the cotton, gold, persian lamb pelts and other types of raw materials shipped from the Uzbek SSR into finished goods.

Second. We think that the implementation of union-wide socio-economic, research and development and environmental programs **must be financed from general state sources**, as it is done in all civilized countries. We estimate that for irrigation and soil improvement alone the union budget must allocate over R11 billion in the 13th 5-year plan period, of which some R4 billion should be spend on improving the environmental situation in the lower Amu-Darya. The priority duty of the union government should be, we think, to budget funds for social restructuring on the countryside, which will require R3 billion. After all, it was in the course of carrying out orders from the center that such damage was done to the environment and the Aral Sea was killed.

Finally, the third and the most prickly issue. I mean the **allocation of union funds to provide a level playing field for Uzbekistan in the social sector**. I should mention that this issue causes no objections on the part of union entities and union republics. According to calculations, to fund only the most urgent measures to improve the housing situation, availability of preschool facilities, hospitals and other social services R3.5-to-R4 billion in assistance will be needed.

Comrade Deputies:

In conclusion, I want to say one more thing. Independence, even total independence, will be worthless if we are unable to **provide full employment for the entire workforce** and do not develop general measures to engage everyone in productive labor. Such measures are currently being drafted. They include the implementation of a republic program of professional training and establishment of a wide network of rayon industrial complexes and small enterprises, branches and shops, especially in the processing industries of the agricultural complex, production of construction materials and other industries.

Meanwhile, we do not expect such measures to be sufficient, since this problem will not be solved imminently. This is why, if our country and republic intend to become law-based states, we must simultaneously **develop measures to provide social security** to those groups who find themselves temporarily outside the productive sphere—in short, the unemployed. In our opinion, these members of the workforce have the right to expect the government to provide assistance to them, as it is done elsewhere in the world.

We should also think about increasing social assistance to heroic mothers who raise 10 or more children.

Comrades!



These main principles of the shift to Uzbek SSR economic independence have been submitted for your consideration. We think that they will be supported and approved by the people's deputies of the republic. Based on this, and taking into account proposals and comments that will be made in the course of the discussion, we must imbue these principle with a physical content and to make them an effective tool of economic policy.

For the first time, we have the opportunity to really start solving urgent problems of the nationality regional policy which is called upon to ensure balanced socio-economic and cultural development of the republic

based on autonomy, self-financing and profitability and taking into account environmental and economic conditions, historical traditions, economic specialization of every region and interests of all nationalities residing in the republic.

We have no right to let this last and only chance get away. Let our reason be with us, since it is based on the millennial wisdom and historical traditions of our diligent and talented people. I want to express my conviction that the worthy representatives of the people, our deputies elected for once by a truly democratic vote, will demonstrate their will and decisiveness in the issue.

### **Estonian 'Civic Peace' Association Formed**

90UN1847A Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA  
in Russian 6 May 90 p 2

[Unattributed article: "For Civic Peace: A Draft"]

[Text] On 21 April an association entitled "For Civic Peace" was founded in Tartu. Among its founders are representatives from Tallinn, Kokhtla-Yarve, Narva, and Tartu. The association has set as its goal helping to establish by all manner of ways in this republic the kinds of relations and attitudes which would be characterized by mutual respect and cooperation among all groups of Estonia's population.

We understand very well that the achievement of such a goal requires time, a great deal of work, and patience. But we also understand that without civic peace we can expect a senseless, pointless confrontation which would be ruinous for everybody. As a first step on the difficulty-fraught path, we propose that the republic's public opinion pay attention to the draft social contract or agreement on civic peace.

We are proceeding on the basis that civic peace, like any other kind, can be built only on the desire for mutual understanding and reciprocal steps to meet each other half-way.

You will not find in the draft contract those sharp formulations to which we have become so accustomed in the press and at meetings. We propose not a list of reciprocal claims but a contract about peace. We consider that peace is our common cause; therefore, such a peace should be concluded by the representatives of the public: political parties, movements, organs of local self-government, etc. Let's give some thought to meeting together for this purpose at an all-republic conference or assembly.... The name of such a forum does not matter as much as the presence of good will.

Inasmuch as Russian democratic public opinion at the present time is not nearly so well organized as, for example, that of Estonia, we propose to conduct in the immediate future (for example, 19-20 May) a Democratic Forum of Estonian Farmers. At this forum we could discuss, along with other matters, the problem of civic peace and ways to implement it.

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In accordance with the adopted Charter, either individuals or entire collectives may be members of this association. Everyone who is interested in cooperation may provide information about themselves to representatives of the association's Council in Tallinn, Kokhtla-Yarve, Narva, or Tartu.

*Council of the "For Civic Peace" Association.*

### **Public Contract on Civic Peace (Tartu Peace-90)**

The political parties, public movements, and other sociopolitical and miscellaneous organizations, as well as

organs of local self-government (hereinafter referred to as "parties to the contract") which have concluded the present contract are united in their understanding that Estonia's successful development, along with the ensuring of the prosperity, protection, and cultural development of all its inhabitants, can be carried out only under the conditions of civic peace.

By civic peace the parties to the contract understand that condition of society under which all disputed questions affecting considerable groups of inhabitants are resolved by the parliamentary method, by means of achieving mutual consent. Civic peace is also a state of public awareness whereby every group of inhabitants, in planning and carrying out its own actions, ab initio takes into account the interests and aspirations of the other inhabitants.

The state of civic peace also presupposes the abandonment of such methods of resolving disputed questions as forceful pressure: political strikes, lockouts, civil disobedience, etc.

The parties to the contract also realize that, at the present time, Estonia's inhabitants are divided in their attitude toward the restoration of Estonia's independence. This decision is most substantial and basically coincides with the division of Estonia's inhabitants along nationality lines. And this causes serious concern among the parties to the contract.

The parties to the contract recognize that the Estonian people views the restoration of Estonia's state sovereignty, i.e., independence, which was abolished during the summer of 1940, as the sole reliable guarantee of preserving itself as a nation, as well as its national uniqueness, language, and culture. The parties to the contract also recognize that historical developments over the past half-century have posed a serious threat to the preservation of the above-listed national values.

At the same time, the parties to the contract recognize that a significant portion of this republic's non-Estonian population in its new role as a national minority is experiencing fears—to a large extent, justified—for its own future in an independent Estonia, for its civil and political rights, for its social protection, and for the possibilities of cultural development.

The parties to the contract reached agreement on the following points:

1. The parties to the contract recognize and respect the right of the Estonian nation to restore Estonia's state sovereignty and independence, including by means of direct negotiations between the plenipotentiary delegation of Estonia and the leadership of the USSR.
2. The parties to the contract call for non-interference in the restoration of Estonia's state sovereignty by means of organizing political strikes or calls for them, by means of organizing acts of civil disobedience or calls for such acts, nor any measures employing force. In these critical

moments of our republic's political development the parties to the contract are refraining from holding mass meetings and demonstrations.

3. What was said above does not signify any abandonment of the free expression and defense of one's own viewpoint on Estonia's future in state organs, public organizations, and the mass media.

4. The parties to the contract recognize the need for measures, based on economic mechanisms, directed at radically limiting immigration. Such measures directed at limiting migration should not hinder the uniting of families or contradict other fundamental humanistic values.

5. The parties to the contract are united in their opinion that Estonia should be a democratic state based on the rule of law, in accordance with the UN Declaration on Human Rights and other commonly recognized norms and values.

6. The parties to the contract have agreed that, under any form of Estonian state sovereignty, the right to citizenship must be granted to each inhabitant who resides on Estonia's territory at the very time when the Law on Citizenship is adopted. Persons residing on Estonian territory and who have retained USSR citizenship (or that of the Union republics) ought to enjoy political and social rights equal to those of Estonia's citizens, in addition to those specially stipulated in the Law on Citizenship.

7. The parties to the contract are agreed that, under Estonia's future state system, there must not be any obstacles on the part of state or public organs to the exercise of human or cultural ties between any resident of Estonia and his historical motherland.

8. The parties to the contract are convinced that the prerequisite of civic peace is a balanced approach to restructuring the republic's economy, to reorienting economic ties in order to avoid, as much as possible, a sharp decline in the standard of living and the growth of unemployment.

The parties to the contract consider that the structural perestroika of this republic's economy must be accompanied by a state program for creating new jobs and providing for worker retraining.

9. The parties to the contract consider inadmissible any alteration other than by a decision of the organs which are constitutionally empowered to do this.

10. The parties to the contract recognize the necessity for an independent cultural and social policy of state and local organs to create possibilities for implementing the national-cultural autonomy of national groups.

11. The parties to the contract declare their non-acceptance of any form of compulsory emigration from Estonia. At the same time, no obstacles should be put in the way of free emigration.

12. The parties to the contract obligate themselves not to create or support the establishment of non-state, militarized formations or law-and-order organs, and they deem it necessary to dissolve such organizations as already exist.

13. The parties to the contract recognize the creation of alternative (parallel) organs to be extremely destabilizing factor in the republic, and they pledge not to support such organs of power.

14. The parties to the contract have stated themselves to be in favor of creating—with the participation of representative organs of power and public organizations—an effective mechanism for guaranteeing the rights and interests of minorities of any kind within this republic.

15. The parties to the contract consider any appeal for aid and cooperative action to any force beyond the borders of Estonia, in case conflict-type situations should arise, to be incommensurate with the idea of civic peace.

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The contract comprises a political and moral obligation undertaken by its parties; it is ensured by their good will and aspirations toward a guaranteed future, as well as by the development of democratic institutions and traditions, along with the public and open elucidation of the intentions and actions of the parties to it.

The representatives of the "For Civic Peace" Association are as follows:

—in Tallinn—V. Lvovskiy, Telephone: 61-32-03, 53-39-57; A. Borshchevskiy, Telephone: 52-58-50;

—in Tartu—Yu. Tammaru, Telephone: 61-215; V. Brekhov, Telephone: 21-321;

—in Kokhtla-Yarve—Ye. Polovskaya, Telephone: 45-760.

#### **Estonian Minister Views Ethnic Imbalance in Narva**

90UN1847B Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 6 May 90 p 2

[Article by G. Komlev, correspondent: "The First Visit of the First Minister"]

[Text] The first minister of the republic's new government to visit Narva was A. Kuznetsov. And this was certainly very noteworthy; because, of course, he was specifically the one who was entrusted with the difficult and delicate sphere of state administration concerned with setting things straight in inter-ethnic cooperation. And the republic's northwestern region, including Narva, occupies a very special place on the demographic map of Estonia.

On 4 May A. Kuznetsov met with representatives of the Narva City Soviet's permanent commissions. In the

capacity of guests at this meeting were more than 30 recently elected deputies of Leningrad's Moskovskiy Rayon Soviet, who had come here in order to acquaint themselves with the initial operational experience of the Narva City Soviet.

In a brief speech the minister set forth, in general outlines, his own views on the inter-ethnic problems in northeastern Estonia. Moreover, he drew particular attention to the situation and feelings of the Estonians, who have turned out to be a national minority here in their own native land.

"The first official appeal directed to me as a minister," Artur Ivanovich said, in particular, "dealt specifically with the problems of Estonians living in this region. They feel extremely uncomfortable here at present. Very many of them are moving to other regions of Estonia."

In reply to one of the questions, A. Kuznetsov explained: "They are leaving not at all because of a bad economic situation, as many persons think. They have a mass of their own specific problems here such as, for example, the limited possibilities for obtaining an education here in their own native language. But the main thing is the

threat of this region splitting off from the rest of Estonia after the latter has gained its independence, the fear of turning out to be beyond the borders of this future independent republic."

A. Kuznetsov noted that, from a scientific viewpoint, ethnic problems in Estonia have been poorly investigated, and that he views one of his own chief tasks as stimulating such studies.

The Narvans were quite interested in hearing from the minister's own lips about the intentions of the Estonian government—after a thorough and very careful analysis of the situation—to accord a special status to Narva and its zone, a status which would affect all spheres of life—the economy, culture, education, and relations with the RSFSR, in particular, with neighboring Leningrad. The minister's speech also contained the idea of according international status in the future to the resort-settlement of Narva-YYesuu.

At mid-day A. Kuznetsov visited the settlement of Narva-YYesuu, where he had a conversation with the leaders of the settlement's Soviet. And in the evening he met with Narva's deputies as a body.



### Legal Experts' Views on Self-Determination

90UN1861A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 May 90  
Second Edition p 4

[Report by A. Gorbachev: "'It Is for the Peoples To Decide Their Fate'—Such Was the Theme of a Business Meeting in the Editorial Offices of PRAVDA"]

[Text] In the revolutionary perestroika of our entire society, including the Soviet federation, the issue of national self-determination has taken on extraordinary acuity.

Thus self-determination, the opportunity for nations to decide their own fate, is a noble and difficult task. It is also difficult because freedom always—and in this regard especially—entails responsibility and the greatest political preparation in those on whom decision making depends. Therefore the PRAVDA editors decided to hold a business meeting with legal academics devoted to the topic of self-determination for the peoples of the country at the present stage.

Participating in the business meeting were Yu. Barsegov, doctor of law and professor; Yu. Boyars, doctor of law and people's deputy from Latvia; B. Krylov, doctor of law and professor; G. Starushenko, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences; R. Tuzmukhamedov, doctor of law and professor. Leading the discussion was editorial board member and PRAVDA ideology editor V. Poshatayev.

[Poshatayev] The 1918 constitution, which was put together under Lenin's direct leadership and participation, talked about every nation's unconditional right to self-determination. It was stated in exactly these words: "The Russian Soviet Republic is based on the free union of free nations as a federation of soviet national republics." Later, in all the subsequent constitutions—of 1924, 1936, and 1977—this formulation was retained essentially without change. But since 1924 each of the union republics has also retained the right to leave the Union freely.

Today we are all interested in the problem posed in the CPSU draft platform for the 28th Party Congress relating to the self-determination of nations. This principle must play a decisive role in the revived Soviet federation. So what is self-determination of nations? What is the legal content of the principle of equal rights and self-determination? What should be the content of our constitution with respect to this most important question?

[R. Tuzmukhamedov] After Lenin, the Soviet Union did an extraordinary amount through its foreign policy actions to achieve international legal recognition of the principle of equal rights and self-determination. Our country worked out its formulation in conjunction with the international community. If one is to talk about the rights and responsibilities of the Soviet Union, then clearly the chief source here are the pacts on the rights of man, which were signed in 1966 and ratified by us in

1973. Right now most governments have ratified these pacts—the pact on economic, social, and cultural rights and the pact on political and civil rights. These documents proclaim that all peoples have the right to self-determination, which allows them freely to establish their own political status and freely to guarantee their own economic, social, and cultural development. Peoples are free to dispose of their own natural wealth and resources in order to attain these goals. And, finally, the documents express the obligation of all governments party to these acts to encourage peoples to realize their right to self-determination and to respect that right.

With regard to self-determination, the CPSU draft platform talks about the mechanism for separation from the USSR as well. My feeling is that this is a profoundly important point. We also need to reestablish in the USSR Constitution the right of peoples to self-determination in the Leninist understanding.

[Boyars] It seems to me that, because our government used to consider the national question decided, Soviet legal thought, too, was worked out more or less without regard for development in the sphere of international law, where the Soviet Union, unquestionably, participated and even scored some successes, influencing the formation of the norms of international law in this sphere, in which are concentrated common human values set forth in the language of law. And, what is especially important, the legal development of the issues of self-determination is a continuous process. But, of course, separation is the extreme case.

But a people that chooses the independent statehood path is obliged to observe all the generally recognized principles and norms of international law without encroaching on anyone's interests—neither individuals nor representatives of other nationality groups.

[Poshatayev] I would add to that. We have already seen the first letters to the editor reacting to the law on the practical realization of the "separation" mechanism. Without going into a detailed analysis, we should still note readers' unanimity on the point that, in their opinion, under no circumstances should separation lead to a sharp drop in the economic potential of the country as a whole. The majority agree that material concern should be shown for people who wish to remain in the Union and are compelled, as a result, to leave the republic.

[Barsegov] The law on separation is important, unquestionably. We've needed it for a long time. But I would like to steer the conversation back to its original channel. The concept of self-determination is elaborated quite fully and legally correctly in Lenin. This, clearly, is the result of the fact that, apart from all his many qualities, Vladimir Ilych was also a lawyer. The very principle first arose within the party, but Lenin elaborated it as a condition for the state construction of a multinational state. He did so with our country in mind. And it was realized in concrete policy. It is thanks to the efforts of

the Soviet Union that this principle became an imperative of international law, that is, the kind of norm the observation of which is absolutely required of everyone. I would add here—absolutely all states, including those where there is a nationality raising the issue, as well as its neighbors.

We now openly recognize the priority of international over national law. Therefore if our constitution diverges at all from this common norm, then, naturally, in these instances international law must take precedence.

But in addition we need above all to study Lenin deeply and thoroughly. Therefore I categorically disagree when at times, guided by certain opportunistic considerations, some of our comrades start trying to hint that Lenin is out of date on this issue, and so forth.

[Poshatayev] Very recently I read in some publication that the thesis on the right of nations to self-determination is the greatest error of socialist thought.

[Barsegov] Nothing of the kind. Lenin's ideas live, and they live in international legal acts.

Now let us give some thought to the term itself: the right of nations and peoples to self-determination. Of course, a people consists of individuals, and today we are coming to the understanding that it is impossible to defend the rights of man as an individual if his rights as a representative of a people are not defended. Therefore, these two concepts—people and nation—coincide. As for state self-determination, there can be no such thing. Only a people can self-determine.

[Starushenko] Right now the dominant tendency in the development of mankind has become the mixing of languages, just as happened in biblical times. This is a regular feature in the development of mankind and human societies. On the one hand, it is conditioned by the development of the economy, when the perfection of productive forces contributes to the process of resettlement of large groups of the population. On the other hand, this is a spiritual principle, when many peoples, acquiring additional opportunities to improve their welfare, use their leisure, time, and desire for self-expression, to realize their national essence. This, too, is a progressive and correct process worthy of every support. Therefore the principles that must guide peoples among themselves are changing, too.

The great French revolution advanced a principle—one people, one nation—that remained in effect for approximately 100 years, but already by the end of the last century it had become clear to everyone that it was out of date. New multinational states arose, and mononationals turned into multinationals. So then the left social democrats, expressing people's common desire, their common demands, advanced the principle of self-determination. I have already written about this in PRAVDA, so I'm not going to develop this thought. Unfortunately, very recently the concept of self-determination has been reduced in the consciousness of

many people to the concept of separation. And if they aren't given separation, that means there is no self-determination.

Meanwhile, there now exist in the world 327 peoples and national groups numbering more than a million. Whereas there are approximately 170 states. That means the multinational state has become the norm or the most typical situation in the modern world. Therefore the very concept of self-determination today is expanding and includes those issues in the defense of a people's national interests that can actually be realized. After all, self-determination is not a goal but a means by which a people achieves conditions maximally conducive to its own development without encroaching on other peoples.

[Boyars] Why do peoples need a right to "leave"? This is only a guarantee. A guarantee against the violence of great power chauvinism. This is discussed in many of Lenin's works, especially his later works. But all of this was not invented with the Great October revolution. These ideas arose and were confirmed in law as ideas about the sovereignty of a people that had been born and consolidated in the magnificent philosophical creations of the era of the bourgeois revolutions.

Can't we observe this kind of general ascending spiral of human development that passes through the self-determination of peoples to unification and a new round of self-determination today? Therefore we first need self-determination, to determine our actual status, and then we can enter into a new round of consolidation.

[Starushenko] The French have a saying: "You don't have to throw someone in the water in order to rescue him."

[Boyars] I want to finish my thought. In the CPSU draft platform there are many productive principles that are worth developing—the contractual principle, for example. But I have to say that two years ago, when the Baltic peoples were raising these issues and posing them as demands, we were looked on practically as extremists.

[Krylov] We cannot divorce ourselves from the real circumstances in which we live. I am speaking first and foremost about nationality-based conflicts. Here we have to look ahead and attempt to resolve all contradictions in such a way as to achieve mutual benefit to all those peoples residing in our country. We have to forestall events. For the time being we can't. And if we're talking about resolving conflict situations and forestalling them, then we have to devote our greatest attention to securing human rights in general and above all national rights. I think that those laws being passed right now will help to improve the situation: the law on the rights of citizens residing outside their own state formations or not having them on the territory of the USSR; the union law on languages; and so on. But there is another problem. Right now we have a tendency to turn the question of the rights of nations to self-determination, up to and including separation, into a kind of bugbear threatening the other peoples one way or

another. All that's envisaged is state self-determination. Let's say a specific settlement qualification is introduced. The last example with Lithuania is probably the most vivid example of when a decision to separate, passed on the spur of the moment—provokes protest from hundreds of thousands of people living in the republic. Here we have discrimination. The decision of the Latvian Supreme Soviet, too, has clearly exacerbated the situation. Therefore we still have to talk both about a people and about people. I think that there is one path—joint participation in the solution of critical issues.

[Barsegov] Quite correct. But from my point of view we are not going to resolve the problem of interethnic relations if we don't devote the proper attention to autonomy. In the Soviet Union there are, after all, more than 100 peoples. And self-determination is a very flexible formula. It offers the opportunity to leave, the opportunity to join, and the opportunity to live autonomously. Lenin used to call this resolving the problem of who to live with. But people also have cultural-national and socioeconomic requirements. Satisfying these is very often the solution to many problems of development, for example, when a people is scattered or, let's say, does not comprise a historically compact, centuries-old community.

[Starushenko] I think that even a portion of a people has the right to self-determination. But that has to be brought about without infringing on other peoples. And it is important to understand that a people has the right to self-determination only until it creates its own state. In the beginning a people appears as the subject of a right. But when a people has created its own state, then its national sovereignty coincides with its state sovereignty.

[R. Tuzmukhamedov] I disagree with that. This is a people's inalienable right, which it always holds. Regardless of whether it has a state or not. The right to self-determination is a complex concept. And it is not to be feared. After all, it corresponds equally to the obligation to observe the same right with respect to all other peoples.

[Starushenko] It seems to me that those rights which Soviet peoples already possess today greatly exceed the rights enjoyed by peoples in many other states, including the most civilized. Except maybe Yugoslavia, but there this may even complicate the situation—their rights are too broad. For us the difficulties are engendered not so much by the fact that we have few rights as by the fact that we have a lot of them that were never coordinated among themselves, never brought into agreement. And rights have to be observed. We need to demand the strict execution of Soviet laws, for example, regarding offense to national dignity and propaganda involving racist, chauvinist, and nationalistic views.

[Krylov] Everything we're talking about now is essential for the future of our state. We have much to repent, but

the chief thing is to look ahead, to search for the means to elaborate ways to eliminate national conflicts and defend the rights of minorities. I think that all this has to be done by guaranteeing, first, the principle of equal rights for citizens and the state's responsibility for the violation of the rights of the citizen and, second, the unconditional guarantee to restore those rights.

From the editors: Recently many issues in the self-determination of the country's peoples have found practical embodiment in laws passed by the Supreme Soviet. Right now a complicated search is under way for means to revive the union pact. All this must become a solid legal foundation for our federation.

The business meeting held in the PRAVDA editorial offices showed that the problems of self-determination for peoples is calling forth various theoretical approaches and disputes among legal academics. We hope our readers too will join in this engrossing conversation.

### Statistics Fail to Reflect True Crime Rate

90UN1890A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian  
17 May 90 Morning Edition p 6

[Article by A. Illesh and V. Rudnev: "When We Write—Five, Do We Have in Mind—Two?"]

[Text] Such (or similar) arithmetic is used in certain police [militsiya] subunits. And this method is employed for crime statistics for one reason (and a very old one): in order to keep crimes off the record. But why is this taking place today—in the time of glasnost?

Yes, this disease was not acquired today, and for the police it has the characteristics of a chronic illness, with which ordinary "therapies" are altogether unable to cope. Moreover, the manifestations of statistical disease are so varied, that it takes a young detective years to master the methods of keeping crimes off the records. Here are some examples from the practical experience of the Gorkiy Police Department, which was revealed by recent serious work by a team from the USSR Procuracy.

Citizen K. made a statement to the Kanavinskiy ROVD [Rayon Internal Affairs Department], declaring that an unidentified male had assaulted her, as a result of which she suffered a broken nose. Of course, they sympathized with her, but they would not record her statement, nor search for the unidentified assailant; and, they persuaded K. to sign a made-up explanation, that she had received the injury "due to her own carelessness."

One can be more clever about it. An investigator at that same ROVD kindly recorded B's statement that he had been beaten and his fur cap, worth 450 rubles, stolen. But at the end of the document he wrote several words for the victim, innocuous at first glance: "I do not want to press criminal charges against anyone." It never occurred to the plaintiff that his opinion does not mean anything in this regard. But for the investigator, it is a catch—to conceal the crime. If he doesn't want to press



charges—that means there is no crime. And that means, declining to open a criminal case...

But if the deponent is intractable, another method is used. The words of the victim are twisted until they mean just the opposite. A GAI [State Vehicle Inspectorate] Inspector, for example, acted as follows: He took down U's statement that a black "Volga" had run into him, but wrote it down in such a way that it appeared the victim did not remember how he received his injuries.

And so this is how the Kanavinskiy police were trained: they write five, but they have in mind, two. They consider losses of hundreds of rubles, "insignificant," and therefore do not require an investigation. They rate armed robbery as extortion. And they represent hooliganism as minor misunderstandings. As a result, the Gorkiy Militia concealed from the record 764 crimes in 1987, 864 in 1988, and 1,123 last year. The dynamics are alarming...

Why? Here are the conclusions of the procuracy: "Departmental supervision is not fully carrying out its role and in most cases operates in a perfunctory manner. Supervisors of rayon internal affairs departments are not sufficiently demanding on the services under them...and they are not carrying out the demands stated in cipher messages from the USSR General Procurator and the Minister of Internal Affairs on instituting disciplinary procedures for every instance of falsification of investigation materials exposed."

Of course, this matter requires both demandingness and supervision, and one cannot get along without punishment. All this is true. But... But there is one extenuating circumstance: we had occasion to read similar conclusions from a procuracy commission of ten years ago. At that time, concealment of crimes (and not the kinds in today's examples) was openly practiced on a grand scale. So you see, it is hard to reproach the present leadership of the USSR MVD for sloppy work and lack of demandingness. And the main thing is, you see, statistics are open today. Why then try to conceal what everyone can see?

Both ordinary police officials and generals frankly admit, that supervision, demandingness and punishment cannot completely preclude distortion of records. "The fact of the matter is, our work is rated on the basis of statistics. The crime rate increases, and we are called on the carpet. 'Why aren't you stopping it? Why aren't you preventing crime? Why are we paying you?' You are journalists: have you ever heard of punishing a rayon ispolkom chairman or one of the ideological officials for the increased crime rate? No? We don't know of any either. But you will seldom find an ROVD chief who has not been slapped with a reprimand for this, and not just one time."

Alas, development according to plan and accountability, carried to the absolute, makes many things an absurdity. We all try to measure things: in kilometers, tons, and rubles... But how can one measure the work of the police? The simplest way of all is in the number of crimes. The crime rate grows? That means the police are doing a poor job. If it goes down, you can present medals. And that is how such a fallacious system comes to pass: the police, who are merely "medical orderlies" in a sick society, are required to answer for the disease—which other people, who have the necessary authority, should be primarily responsible for curing.

Very well, we have made crime statistics public. And we have explained the figures to the people, while at the same time casting the blame on the dark days of old. As if one need not fear the present increase in the crime rate—explanations are readily available: it's the cooperatives, the rackets, and so on. But then after awhile one has to ask the question: How long will our crime rate increase (and to what extent)? And who is to blame for this? Above all, the Minister of Internal Affairs should be answerable for this is, and he alone. The police (and believe me, they have every reason to fear) would be "in a crack" here too. Apparently the police officials themselves, who today still take steps to conceal crimes (although glasnost has been proclaimed), are afraid.

Here is a bitter joke, which nevertheless accurately characterizes the situation that has come to pass today. "Today," criminal investigation officials say, "we are trying to catch up with Western police not only in terms of the level of technical equipment, but also in the level of crimes solved." (And you see, in the 1970's and 80's, 90-95 percent of the crimes in the USSR were solved; while in the West, the rate was 60-70 percent.)

Let us return, in connection with this, to the state of affairs in the Gorkiy Militia. Once again, quoting from the procurator's inquiry: "In the oblast as a whole, the level of work in solving crimes declined significantly. For this year (1989—Auth.), the total number of unsolved crimes in absolute numbers amounted to 18,128, which is 12,335, or 213 percent greater in comparison with the previous year... Solving crimes involving theft of citizens' personal property is in the most unfavorable category. In Avtozavodskiy Rayon, fewer than one-fifth (!—Auth.) of such crimes are solved."

And so that is why the police still try to conceal crimes. The logic here is simple: you register only the "sure things," that is the crimes which are easy to solve—and you raise the percentage of accountability. But if you start to consider all the "obscure" cases—the solution rate falls. And that means, you can expect a reprimand from your bosses, and from the procuracy.



But here is the information on the solution rate for certain crimes, offered by USSR MVD:

Types of Crime	Remainder of Unsolved Crimes as of 1 Jan 90	Proportion (%) of Crimes Yet Unsolved	Crime Solution Rate (%) for 1st Qtr 1990
For All Crimes	247,671	100.0	55.6
Premeditated Murder and Attempted Murder	636	0.3	86.6
Premeditated Aggravated Assault	3,662	1.5	69.8
Rape and Attempted Rape	665	0.3	85.1
Armed Robbery	2,478	1.0	62.2
Thefts	22,549	9.1	34.7
Theft of State or Social Property	46,856	18.9	31.5
Theft of Personal Property	130,394	52.6	29.3

Let us explain: hardest of all to keep off the record is premeditated murder. Seldom can anyone succeed in hiding its traces, and seldom can the police refuse to open a criminal case for reason of "insignificance" or persuade the victims to decline an investigation. Easiest of all to conceal are thefts. First of all, for many people the endless summons to the investigative organs cost more than the loss from the theft itself. Secondly, it is easier for an unscrupulous detective to persuade the victims not to write a statement—after all, you weren't killed...

And now let's look at the figures once again. The most-solved crimes are those which are almost 100 per cent reported: premeditated murder (86.6 percent), rape (85.1). Least-solved are those which are most often kept off the books: theft of state and social property (31.5) or theft of personal property (29.3). And we find the logic of these figures most convincing. You see, it follows that 100-percent registration of crimes itself makes for the highest solution rate. There you have it—serious "arithmetic."

Is it not obvious, that the sooner the investigative organs take up a case, the greater the chances for convicting the guilty parties? And on the other hand, if an investigation begins with persuading the victims, or in nit-picking their statements, or legal "hair-splitting," the chances for success are minimal—there is simply not enough time to find the evidence. Of course, while concealing crimes, one can count on poor procuracy oversight as well. But really, it does not pay to hope for this today either. By all lights, the procuracy is picking up speed. In any case, the inquiry, the materials from which we have cited repeatedly in this article, speak to that. "Beginning with 1987, there has been a steadily increasing number of crimes entered in the records by procurators, which the internal affairs organs were already aware of but had not registered," as verified in the document of the USSR Procuracy.

## RSFSR Procuracy Investigates Corruption of Legal Officials

90UN1853A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian  
12 May 90 Morning Edition p 6

[R. Ignatyev report: "The Judges Are Accused"]

[Text] The investigation of an unusual case has just been finished by the RSFSR Procuracy: A large group of court and legal staffers has been brought up on criminal charges.

I was familiarized with this criminal case under the number 18(8-88)60108 at the USSR Procuracy. All the facts gathered in it related to the events which took place in Tuva until recent times. As has been established by preliminary investigation, in the capital of the autonomous republic, Kyzyl, an entire system of bribery had been organized among individuals representing the legal corps. It comprised a number of people's judges, assessors, and lawyers of the city and Piy-khenskiy Rayon courts, and the Kyzyl and republic collegiums of lawyers. This chain had been operating since 1981. In 1987, the entrepreneurs had a crash. The dealers from the law were arrested.

The court examination was entrusted to the Tuva ASSR Procuracy. However, it dragged out. The accused had to be released, since the term of detention established by law had expired. Those under investigation signed statements promising not to travel. The case was turned over to the RSFSR Procuracy investigations section.

And then a new court investigation. Now the whole complex ball of depraved interrelations came unraveled. The investigators not only came across an unconscionable attitude toward the judges official post, but, in their opinion, real crime as well.

So, incidents of lawyers reporting false information on the possible outcome of this or that criminal case for the purpose of receiving bribes have been discovered. For remuneration, they offered their services, promising to influence the decision of the court. And they "influenced" it...

Lawyers got considerable sums for the imposition of the verdicts desired by the bribe givers. One-time honoraria would sometimes go up to thousands of rubles. Nor did the lawyers refuse gifts in the form of alcoholic beverages. And further, according to the case material, tributes were given to the judges and assessors.

As the result of this activity, in the Tuva ASSR over the course of 6-7 years, gross "errors" were committed in the consideration of criminal and civil cases. The investigation is finished. The court organs will draw the final conclusions. The accused have been released from their positions.

And another criminal case that has been raised regarding the courts has been completed. A sentence has been handed down against V. Chetvertakov, chairman of the

Kirovskiy people's court, city of Armavir, and former judge V. Tkachenko. At the time of his arrest, the latter was already working as the head of the department of administrative and trade-financial organs of the Armavir party gorkom.

The scheme for receiving bribes was the same as in Tuva. The staffers of the legal organs also performed as middlemen. Among them is lawyer V. Davydov.

In August 1980, according to the case material, he received R4,000 from the wife of V. Perkov, charged with criminal responsibility under RSFSR Criminal Code Section 2 Article 206. The lawyer promised to assist in reducing the term. Then V. Davydov takes a bribe from the relatives of a defendant who had been arrested for the theft of state property and murder.

Two thousand, five thousand, eight thousand rubles... Bribes of larger amounts were taken, too. V. Davydov's activity was closely linked with the people's judges of the city. In February 1987, he reported to the procuracy the transfer of R6,000 to V. Chetvertakov, chairman of the Kirovskiy people's court, city of Armavir... The Krasnodarskiy Kray court sentenced V. Chetvertakov to 8 years incarceration. His assistants were charged as well. And Davydov was convicted, too.

They showed me one more unusual case at the USSR Procuracy. It was associated with the falsification of a court decision in Uzbekistan. The investigation is continuing. We may report certain particulars.

On 5 April 1988, in an intense regime colony located in Zarafshan (Uzbekistan), a resolution of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Court Plenum arrived. According to this document, A. Khudayberdiyev, the former director of a cotton processing plant sentenced to 15 years imprisonment, was subject to immediate release. That is, the plenum resolution practically rescinded the previously imposed sentence. At first glance, it aroused no one's suspicion: It was written in legalese, stamped on a genuine form, and the imprint of the seal of the Supreme Court was real. Yet as it later became clear, this resolution proved to be a forgery. And only thanks to the attentiveness of the colony's special section staffers was this inveterate criminal not released. A criminal case was not begun regarding this incident. We hope that the guilty parties will be established. Yet there are many more riddles here. And one of them is the cause of death of an important witness...

The investigation of the criminal case regarding certain staffers of the law enforcement organs of the city of Nikolayev has now been completed. Criminal charges have been brought against judges. And once again, the same scheme. Guilty verdicts have already been imposed against some of them.

### **Moscow Procuracy Officials on Co-Ops' Legal Responsibilities**

90UN1889A Moscow VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA in Russian 25 Apr 90 p 3

[Round table with Procuracy Officials A. Belyakov, I. Trotsenko, and A. Antoshin with Moderator B. Yakovlev: "The Procuracy and the Law"]

[Text] We are slowly, yet we hope surely, moving toward a rule-of-law state. There are numerous promising signs of this, and one of them is the appearance at the regular "Cooperative Wednesday" of leading officials from the Moscow Procuracy: Deputy City Procurator Anatoliy Nikolayevich Antoshin, Deputy Department Chief Andrey Mikhaylovich Belyakov, and General Oversight Administration Deputy Chief Ivan Artemyevich Trotsenko responded to "Vecherka's" invitation to take part in a round-table discussion with cooperative workers, and readily agreed to answer their questions unequivocally.

"We want to tell you about the organization of procuracy oversight for observing the Law on Cooperation and share our own judgments on this account," said Antoshin, opening the meeting. "Two or three years ago we had a cautious attitude toward the rising cooperative movement, the evaluation of which now fluctuates between opposite extremes. With such a controversial reputation, there must be guarantees of observance of the laws with respect to cooperation..."

We interrupt Anatoliy Nikolayevich in order to remind the reader of the exceptionally principled position of the Moscow City Procuracy with respect to the provisional nature of the statute on organizing the cooperative movement in the capital. It was adopted at the final session of the last convocation of the deputies of the Moscow Soviet just before their curtain call—in December of last year. This statute, which contains a host of conflicts with the law and which is overtly directed toward encouraging cooperatives, must be deemed truly provisional, and must be quickly repealed or significantly revised by the new membership of the Moscow Soviet. There is firm legal basis for this step: Recently the city procuracy sent the Moscow Soviet a written statement with regard to that unlawful document.

The criticism began with the publication of our "Cooperative Wednesday" report on 18 December, and then was heard from all sides. We stress that at the session itself, Antoshin provided, in the name of the procuracy, a detailed analysis of the situation and an unequivocal analysis of its unlawful points. Shortly after that, Moscow Procurator G.S. Ponomarev spoke on the same subject at a session of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom.

This was done at a time when the new cooperatives were subjected to regular persecution, and exceptional civic and professional courage was required to swim against the current, in spite of the passionately supercharged meetings. It was extremely unfortunate that the voice of

the law was then drowned out by the shouted slogans proclaimed by order of the protectors of "principles" from the party-state apparat. Today, since the elections to the local Soviets, there is a real possibility and, we stress, necessity to restore legality and justice.

The revised provisional statute, in the opinion of the guests of the editors, must first of all show the rayon Soviets how to provide incentives for the cooperative movement, and skillfully conduct a taxation policy. This means, in a note to the new deputies (apart from the "proclaimed" platform).

In other words, it is necessary to pursue uniformity in the city, and a USSR Law on Cooperatives that would stimulate healthy entrepreneurship. As stated in the note sent to the Moscow Soviet, the city procuracy believes it is necessary that it be examined at the first session and that measures be taken to eliminate violations of the Law, and to abrogate or amend the decisions taken in connection with the provisional statute by the city Soviet ispolkom. And for the time being, until "the sun comes up" for the cooperative workers, who have been squeezed for taking advantage of the unlawful statute, they are advised to appeal to the court, for whom the supremacy of law is not in doubt.

This, of course, does not mean that procuracy oversight is prepared to close its eyes to the lawlessness (and it is rampant), committed by the cooperative workers themselves.

Antoshin stressed: "As the law states, procuracy officials must treat everyone who violates the law impartially and objectively, and that includes the cooperative workers, whom we must help purge themselves from filth..."

Procuracy oversight is acting with increasing energy in the struggle with both those encroaching on the cooperative movement, and with those who abuse it. Here it is important to thoroughly and completely understand the fact that it, as Gorbachev noted in his speech at the first session of the President's Council, has enormous potential for good. The existing legislation gives the Soviets broad rights with respect to the cooperative movement, and to a significant degree the basis on which it will develop depends upon their position and practical work.

It is good that the city procuracy has taken a firm stand in defense of the cooperatives, against all encroachments whatsoever, to include the city and rayon soviets. While wishing to give their newly-elected Soviets as little reason as possible for procuracy action, we recall specifically that after interference by rayon procurators the ispolkoms were forced to re-examine their decision on the unlawful liquidation of cooperatives, and put a stop to the months and months of red tape when registering new ones.

At the "round table," an example was given of a really barbaric attitude toward the cooperative workers, when in Oktyabrskiy Rayon they tried to unceremoniously drive one of them from the building officially presented

to it, in which a considerable amount of money was invested for major repairs. The rayon procuracy put a stop to the unlawful action.

One of the strange things procuracy officials encounter when studying materials on inspection of cooperatives, is the lack of method to such inspections. There is in general no noticeable methodological assistance to the rayispolkoms on the part of the Moscow Soviet Ispolkom, nor from the city commission on cooperative and individual labor activity. True, should one be surprised if the basic "method" of the city authorities was persecution of the cooperatives? While they, it is appropriate to note, last year provided goods and services worth five billion rubles, contributed nearly 250 million rubles to the rayon budgets, and now employ 500,000 Muscovites.

"The rayon soviet ispolkoms with their previous membership were unable to cope with their tasks—to strive to ensure the inevitability of liability for violation of the laws in everything concerning the cooperative movement, on the part of both rayon officials and the cooperatives themselves"—such was the conclusion made at the "round table" by the Moscow deputy procurator.

Is there not ill will here, when breaches were permitted to follow one after another, and shortcomings were allowed to multiply, in order that they might then raise the cry of the "original sin" of cooperation and close the cooperatives in one fell swoop, without any warning, as the law requires?

There is also primitive bribe-taking. And the methodology has been honed to a fine point. From red tape in registration of the charter to bribes for providing well-equipped mansions—everything enters the deal. A broad field for bribery was opened by the recently-imposed ban on the previously existing possibility to register a cooperative by the home address of the chairman or a member of the board.

In a number of rayons cooperatives were established for extorting other cooperatives under the specious pretext of consultation when signing the charter and preparing for the decision of the ispolkom on its registration. And then, it goes without saying, a "legal fee" must follow.

And what of the cooperative workers themselves? They held their peace, fearing the unjust wrath of the powers that be. Last year, only four lawsuits were taken to the Moscow courts in connection with refusal to register charters, one of which (25 per cent of the cases) was satisfied. There were two suits with respect to liquidation, and one was satisfied. In the cooperative field—peace and fullness of grace reign; if one takes such judicial practice into account. One can't help remember, that still waters run deep.

True, it is not easy for the cooperatives today. On top of the natural economic difficulties, there is the animosity in a portion of public opinion against free entrepreneurship, and the fickle winds blowing from the party-state

summit. Only a few of the 500,000 gathered at the "round table"—in all about 100 people; but from their questions to the procuracy officials one could sense their lack of confidence in the future.

A remarkable statistic: last year 23 cases were brought to court against cooperatives because of the poor quality of their work, and 17 were satisfied. For a great city this is a drop in a bucket. And would there not have been long lines at the courts if everyone who had bought rotten goods had gone there? Both the purchaser and the client must feel that he is a citizen of a rule-of-law state, and must resort to the protection of the court when harmed by a cooperative.

At the "round table" we also learned of the first criminal case in Moscow—compensation for appropriating someone else's trademark. The "Lana" cooperative won.

The first call is for those who would like to produce "Adidas" and "Pumas" and other wonders from overseas.

Several questions have been singled out from among those questions addressed to the procuracy officials.

A number of the speakers, while agreeing that ignorance of the law is no excuse, justly complained of the gaps in legal knowledge: no one is familiar with the ever-increasing number of resolutions and instructions. But I must redirect the reproach to the city cooperative union, and call upon them to do what should have been done long ago: start to publish regular editions of a handbook of innovations in all this "literature." Thus one could earn both additional prestige and a little profit besides.

The deputy director of a building trust and a legal consultant complained in chorus of the fact that a cooperative stole equipment from them, and the police took no action. This took place many months ago, and it is hard to understand the long-suffering victims (who perhaps expected an encounter at the "round table"). The victims were invited to the city procuracy, in order to sort everything out. We hope that the "round table" will be of assistance.

Was the decision of the Moscow Soviet Ispolkom on the re-registration of all cooperatives in early 1990 just? The clear-cut answer was: it was illegal. And if a cooperative is liquidated under the pretext of re-registration, one can appeal to the court for protection.

As we see, the procuracy does not want to be remain an appendage of the command-administrative system, which was declared in everyone's hearing at the "round table." I take great pleasure in repeating this statement.

### Reasons for Rising Youth Crime in Ukraine Cited

90UN1668A Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian 3 Apr 90 p 4

[Interview with V.V. Durdynets, Ukrainian SSR first deputy minister of the interior and national deputy, by RATAU correspondent: "Topical Interview: Law Infractions by Juveniles"]

[Text] Recently, newspapers, radio, and television have been reporting not infrequently that criminal activities are increasingly attracting juveniles. In the last five years, the number of offenses committed by them in the republic increased by more than fifty percent. Last year they broke the law and committed felonies close to a hundred thousand times. This year the situation is no better. Causes of juvenile criminality and measures used to combat them are shared with a RATAU (Soviet Telegraph Agency of the Ukraine) correspondent by the Ukrainian SSR first deputy Minister of the Interior, National Deputy V. V. Durdynets.

[DURDYNETS] As experience shows us, the increase in offensive acts is a result of socioeconomic problems which have mounted, erosion of moral and ethical principles, reaction to a weakening influence of governmental institutions, and an increase in legal nihilism. An analysis of law infractions among the young indicates that where there is no interaction between national education and interior affairs for the purpose of preventing crime, the results are often sad. I will give one example. In December of last year, students of middle school No 36 in Petrovsk, Voroshilovgradska Oblast, brothers Oleksandr and Mykola Repchenko, Viktor Stozherov, and Sergiy Korolyev killed school girl Olga Bezginska. This was not an accident. The youths often skipped classes, robbed younger students, and behaved outrageously. Both in school and among juvenile authorities this was known, but no preventive measures were taken.

Another cause which, in my opinion, encourages criminal behavior in juveniles consists of shortcomings in family upbringing, influence on children of unhappy families, and divorces. In the last three years in the Republic, there have been two separations for every three marriages. So it is not surprising that one third of all juveniles committing offenses, and two thirds of those who committed crimes, were raised in broken families. We have numerous examples where adults, including parents, encourage transgressions with their amoral behavior, become instigators, the inspiration, and even the organizers of infractions.

This irresponsible, callous attitude towards children has led to the fact that in the last five years, more than 60 thousand juveniles have been brought to court for taking part in crimes in the Republic, 20 thousand of which have been deprived of their freedom as a result. And how many of them were deprived of parental attention and



care, received no upbringing? Society is seeing the loss of full fledged citizenship of practically tens of thousands of people.

Is this an inevitable process? Are only juveniles to blame for what is happening? I will cite two quotations from admissions by residents of correctional institution. "I became unmanageable in the 7 - 8th grades; I started smoking in the fourth. No one stopped me from anything; then they tried, but it was too late". "I would like to see my class advisor. They were so glad to be rid of me when they first transferred me to a special school, and then I landed here..." As you can see, they have been forgotten by teachers. Comsomol organizations, friends as well as our colleagues in juvenile agencies - all those who should not be indifferent to the fate of an errant youth. Today more than ever the efforts of teachers and SPTU (Special Professional Technical Institution) onto work with young people outside the home are becoming particularly important, especially with youngsters who get no attention from their parents and are left essentially on their own."

[RADYANSKA UKRAYINA] A majority of them, experience shows, become involved in alcohol, drugs, and in a crazed state, break the law and behave offensively. What, do you feel, must we do to prevent young people from falling into an abyss?"

[DURDYNETS] First some statistics. Compared with 1988, the number of juveniles who committed infractions of the law in an inebriated state has increased by nearly 30/

. Today, every second or third of these crimes, such as personal attacks, robberies, hooliganism, are perpetrated by inebriated juveniles. More than 26 thousand young people received administrative punishment last year for drinking alcohol and appearing in public places in an inebriated state. It is necessary to note that half of them are students in SPTU and schools. Unfortunately, recently, work on preventing drinking among juveniles has deteriorated. Especially unfavorable situations are found in the Voroshilovgradska, Dnipropetrovska, Ivano-Frankivska, Rovenska, and Khmel'nitska Oblasts and Kiev.

Increased use of narcotics continues to be a problem among young people. Consumption of narcotics or narcotic preparations is not decreasing. As statistics prove, every second or third addict on the books was attracted to "weeds" as a juvenile. In the last two years, 176 juveniles committed crimes in a drugged, narcotic state.

Today, a complex program is being created in the Republic to fight against this ugly occurrence. A network of specialized medical institutions is in place. There are 895 narcotic residential centers and outpatient narcotic treatment centers, forty of which provide anonymous treatment. Four medical preventive trade union centers are functioning, among them one for juveniles. In Kryvyi Rog, a specialized youth residential center has

been established in collaboration with a school, where a non-medical treatment approach is used."

Nevertheless, we must admit that by far not everything is being done to prevent this influence to unlawfulness. In particular, there is no well defined participation by health agencies. Laws are not fully employed to provide mandatory treatment for juveniles addicted to drugs."

[RADYANSKA UKRAYINA] Many problems of youth, as is known, are direct consequences of unsettled lifestyles and permissiveness. Does this have an effect on the increase of offensive behavior among juveniles?"

[DURDYNETS] Absolutely. As long as there is no substantial improvement in this situation, especially in the organization of leisure time for problem children, who often remain beyond the reach of schools, technical professional schools, the Comsomol, ZHEKs (Housing Committee), and the community, the situation will be complicated. If you have been to, say, the Donetsk, Voroshilovgradska, Dnipropetrovska, Zaporizhska Oblasts, you could see that, in many populated areas and small towns with young populations, there are no youth clubs, or movie theaters, or sports facilities or even play grounds. Young people meet in doorways, basements, attics, abandoned buildings and other places. Precisely from these meeting places stem criminal groups.

The roles of cultural and educational institutions have decreased in the moral upbringing of the new generation. Recently, many of them are left to cooperatives. At the same time, prices for children's admissions and subscriptions are rising for cultural shows and health and sports establishments. Today, not all parents are able to pay for their child's clubs and sports.

At the same time, there has been an increase in video rental places clubs and video viewing salons. In Kiev alone, there are more than 200 of them. Especially disquieting is the fact that, due to lack of supervision, many of them openly support violence, cynicism, brutality, sex; they show methods of perpetrating crimes. Individual juveniles use them as "justification". For instance, students of the Kiev SPTU #10, Sergiy Lyubenko and Sergiy Shymanskyy, having stolen money and gold objects from home, and having robbed citizen M., were attempting to cross the border from the Soviet Union to Iran, but were detained. In the process of being questioned, they explained they committed criminal acts under the influence of videos.

We are also disturbed by the unsettled nature of juveniles. Last year, the Republic counted more than ten thousand juveniles who were neither in school nor working. Some of them were later placed in schools or given jobs. However, many of them remained "at large" for various reasons."

[RADYANSKA UKRAYINA] How can we counter the increasing deterioration among juveniles and young people?"

[DURDYNETS] We must mention that a significant number of juveniles who committed crimes were given a sentence in which they were not deprived of freedom. Thus, high quality supervision by juvenile agencies is necessary. This needs to be bolstered by financial support of concerns and organizations, cooperatives and radhosps. Professional teachers, lawyers and psychologists, people with initiative and creativity, are indispensable. Today we cannot limit ourselves to old approaches to preventive measures. One thrust is that the state should increase the number of employees in juvenile services, improve their performance; another is that there is a need for respect and participation in activities with young people by citizen organizations and work collectives. Only through the united efforts of law enforcement agencies, local Soviets, all inhabitants in cities and villages can we create a positive change, one that is healthy in body and spirit.

When we talk about unified efforts to increase the varieties of educational approaches to juveniles, everyone agrees. But when the time comes to take concrete steps, to participate in the daily life of a juvenile, especially a "restive" or "difficult" one, often there are no enthusiasts or specialists in the appropriate organizations.

It is very important to make greater use of available experience with juveniles. To those with an inclination towards transgression, many localities assign mentors, who place them into interest oriented groups, such as sports, hobby clubs, and other groups, to work on construction of cultural buildings, and youth clubs during evenings and holidays. Of course, the young people's interest has to be stimulated; they have to be occupied by absorbing work or other useful activity.

Everywhere, now, there is a strengthening of subdepartments in internal affairs agencies which concern themselves directly with juvenile criminality. In SPTUs and schools comprehensive programs, directors of local militia are assigned to work directly on prevention of crime with poorly brought up juveniles; they teach obedience to law in an educational setting. Other approaches are also used. Nevertheless, substantial improvements in the situation can only be attained through a close cooperation of educational and work organizations, law enforcement agencies, society and parents. Their combined efforts should be directed and controlled by Soviets of national deputies."

#### **Ukrainian SSR Ukase on Disturbing Peace, Seizing Public Buildings**

90UN1856A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian  
24 Apr 90 p 3

[Ukase of the Presidium of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet: "On Responsibility for Actions Directed Against the Public Order and Citizens' Safety"]

[Text] The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR resolves:

1. To establish that the seizure of government or public buildings or structures for the purpose of their illegal use or of impeding the normal work of the institutions, organizations, or enterprises shall entail criminal responsibility in the form of incarceration for a term of up to five years or corrective labor for a term of up to two years.

2. Calls for pogroms, forceable eviction of citizens, or the commission of other actions that threaten the public order and citizen's safety, as well as the distribution, preparation, or possession with the intent to distribute of materials of such content (leaflets, posters, and so on) shall entail criminal responsibility in the form of corrective labor for a term of up to one year or a fine in the amount of up to 500 rubles.

A similar deed which entailed serious consequences or was committed more than once is punishable in the form of incarceration for a term up to 5 years or corrective labor for a term of up to 2 years.

3. The dissemination of false rumors that could incite panic among the population or disturb the public order shall entail administrative responsibility in the form of a fine in the amount of up to 300 rubles or corrective labor for a term of up to one month and withholding of 20 per cent of salary.

4. The provision by official persons for conducting assemblies, rallies, street marches, in violation of the established order, at buildings, transportation and technical facilities or conducting demonstrations at building sites or creating other conditions for organizing and facilitating the above actions, shall entail the imposition of a fine in the amount of up to 1,000 rubles.

5. Preliminary investigations of cases involving the crimes envisaged in article 1 of the present Ukase shall be conducted by investigators from the prosecutor's office and in article 2 of the Ukase by investigators from the internal affairs organs.

6. Cases involving the legal violations envisaged in articles 3 and 4 of the present Ukase shall be examined by people's judges in rayon (city) people's courts.

Protocols on the legal violations indicated shall be compiled by duly authorized officials of the internal affairs organs.

7. In this connection in order to introduce addenda and changes into the following legislative acts of the Ukrainian SSR:

1) The Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR shall be supplemented with article 187, paragraph 5 and article 206 paragraph 1 of the following content:

"Article 187, paragraph 5. Seizure of government or public property or structures.

"The seizure of government or public buildings or structures for the purpose of their illegal use or else impeding

the normal work of institutions, organizations, enterprises—shall be punished by incarceration for a term of up to five years or corrective labor for a term of up to two years”;

“Article 206, paragraph 1. Calls for the commission of actions that threaten the public order and citizens’ safety

“Calls for pogroms, forceable eviction of citizens, or the commission of other illegal actions that threaten the public order and citizens’ safety, as well as the distribution, preparation, or possession for purposes of distribution of materials of such content (leaflets, posters, and so on)—shall be punished by corrective labor for a term of up to one year or by a fine in the amount of up to 500 rubles.

“A similar deed entailing serious consequences or committed more than once,—shall be punished by incarceration for a term of up to five years or by corrective labor for a term of up to two years”;

2) In the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR on administrative violations (VEDOMOSTI VERKHOVNOGO SOVETA USSR, 1984, appendices to no. 51, art. 1122; 1985, no. 17, art. 415, no. 24, art. 553, no. 44, art. 1056; 1986, no. 15, art. 326, no. 27, art. 539, no. 52, art. 1057; 1987, no. 12, art. 226, no. 25, arts. 453, 454, no. 35, art. 674, no. 49, art. 1009, no. 50, art. 1016; 1988, no. 33, art. 808, no. 52, art. 1184; 1989, no. 19, art. 182, no. 22, art. 236, no. 49, art. 673; 1990, no. 5, arts. 59, 60, no. 12, art. 194);

—to supplement the Code with articles 173, paragraph 1 and 185 paragraph 2 of the following content:

“Article 173, paragraph 1. The dissemination of false rumors

“The dissemination of false rumors that might incite panic among the population or disturb the public order,—shall entail the imposition of a fine in the amount of up to 300 rubles or corrective labor for a term of up to one month with withholding of 20 per cent of salary”;

“Article 185, paragraph 2. The creation of conditions for the organization and conduct of assemblies, rallies, street marches, or demonstrations that violate the established order

“The provision by official persons for conducting assemblies, rallies, street marches, in violation of the established order, at buildings, transportation and technical facilities or conducting demonstrations at building sites or creating other conditions for organizing and facilitating the above actions, shall entail the imposition of a fine in the amount of up to 1,000 rubles;”

—article 221, after the number “173” shall be supplemented with the number “173, paragraph 1” and after the number “185, paragraph 1” with the number “185, paragraph 2”;

—in paragraph 2, item 1, in the first part of article 255, the numbers “173, 174” shall be replaced with the numbers “173-174”;

—item 1 in the second part of article 62, after the words “street marches, and demonstrations” shall be supplemented with the words “involving the dissemination of false rumors, perpetrations”;

—the second part of article 277, after the number “173,” shall be supplemented with the number “173, paragraph 1” and after the number “185, paragraph 1” with the number “185, paragraph 2”;

3) in the Criminal Process Code of the Ukrainian SSR the first part of article 112, after the number “187, paragraph 3,” shall be supplemented with the number “187, paragraph 5” and part two of the article after the number “206” with the number “206, paragraph 1.”

8. The present Ukase shall go into effect immediately upon publication in the newspapers RADYANSKA UKRAINA and PRAVDA UKRAINY.

*V. Shevchenko, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium*

*N. Khomenko, secretary of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium*

*Kiev, 20 April 1990*

**Journal Appeals to Politburo for Protection  
Against Opponents**

90US0897A Moscow MOLODAYA GVARDIYA in  
Russian No 4, Apr 90 pp 280-288

[Appeal adopted at a meeting of the editorial labor collective of the journal MOLODAYA GVARDIYA on 27 February 1990: "Who Wants Reprisal Against the Magazine MOLODAYA GVARDIYA?"]

**Appeal of the Editorial Collective of the Journal MOLODAYA GVARDIYA to Readers, to Members of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and to Members of the Buro of the Komsomol Central Committee**

Dear Readers! Dear Comrade Members of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee! Dear Comrade Members of the Buro of the Komsomol Central Committee!

For several years now, the magazine MOLODAYA GVARDIYA has been, as they say in Armenia, under blockade.

We are not speaking here of the unscrupulous polemics conducted against the journal on the pages of certain mass information media like aimed artillery shelling calculated for effect. We know that the truth cannot be destroyed and we are aware who is being bothered by the truth and why and we know that these anti-socialist forces have initiated and are undertaking attempts to neutralize the journal by any means. We know that one of the directions which these forces alien to socialist perestroika have chosen for an attack on the journal is administrative reprisal. Concealed from the eyes of the readers and not controlled by the public, such attacks are particularly dangerous as they threaten the existence of both glasnost and democracy.

This is not the first year that certain responsible workers from the Propaganda Department of the Komsomol Central Committee have employed against us administrative-bureaucratic pressure and the methods of command leadership of the press well mastered since the times of stagnation. Under the conditions of perestroika, regardless of the course proclaimed by the party of broadening glasnost and democracy, and possibly, in spite of this course, they have endeavored, in our view, if not to stifle the journal at least to make it an obedient toy in the hands of the young, entrepreneurially energetic Komsomol officials. We realize all the harshness of such a conclusion, however the "bureaucratic games" conducted against the journal by the Propaganda Department of the Komsomol Central Committee with the connivance of individual secretaries from the Komsomol Central Committee have convinced us of this.

The tangible attack on MOLODAYA GVARDIYA by the Komsomol Central Committee began after the journal had entered into an active debate with such pseudoperestroika publications as the magazine OGONEK, the newspaper SOVETSKAYA KULTURA and the weekly MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI which did

and do publish numerous materials defaming domestic history, socialism, the party and the army, which distort notions of the honor and dignity of the Soviet man, which reduced to a primitive level human morality, spirituality, the feeling of national dignity and national pride, and which sow the seeds of hostility and hate between peoples, in replacing the concepts of the friendship and fraternity of the Soviet peoples and internationalism with notorious cosmopolitanism and the supposed imperial ambitions of Russia and the Russians. On the pages of these and similar publications there has been a legalizing of Zionism and again, as during the RAPP [Russian Association of Proletarian Writers] criticism in the 1920s and there has been an unprecedented outburst of russophobia which, in our view, has become the political key and tool for unleashing interethnic conflicts and destabilizing the political situation in the nation. The ideas of destruction which blow from the pages of such publications are realized in the principles of street "democracy and in the rabid attacks by the ochlocracy on the party and the soviets. It is precisely from the pages of such publications that appeals are issued to "seize the post office, telegraph and Kremlin." It is precisely their authors who hatch out new ideological formulas designed to manipulate public awareness and directed ultimately at the social stratification of society and at destroying the unity of the peoples and replacing the socialist doctrine of social development with a doctrine of a bourgeois-capitalistic sort. Such a policy is largely aided by the breakdown of spirituality and morality in the youth, by the forced implanting of the dubious values of Western "mass culture" in the minds and awareness of the young people, by replacing the generally recognized human values with models of a consumer, philistine ersatz culture, by the legalizing of the so-called "Red Guard" culture of violence and permissiveness, by the development of drug addiction and the almost general triumph on the pages of many publications, including the Komsomol, of the "ideals" of the "sexual revolution" in the age of perestroika.

The unmasking of these phenomena on the pages of MOLODAYA GVARDIYA, and the open, frank polemics against the "foremen of perestroika" who endeavor to lead the party, the people and perestroika itself to the extreme leftist view of radical concepts and destructive changes which are hence lethal for society have evoked not only the natural ire of the pseudoperestroika reactionary forces which are alien to the people, but also the clear irritation of a number of Komsomol workers the political immaturity of whom has been manifested not only in confusion but also in connivance in the collapse of the Komsomol. The Propaganda Department of the Komsomol Central Committee, particularly with the arrival there of Comrade A.A. Zinchenko, while supporting in words—in conversations with the journal's workers and leaders—the patriotic focus and civil position of MOLODAYA GVARDIYA, in fact have sided with the "predominant" opinion of a leftist sort.



Instead of supporting the youth journal, a journal supposedly with the viewpoint of the current leader of the Propaganda Department of the Komsomol Central Committee and an orthodox position (here it is worth pointing out that the party leadership has repeatedly emphasized publically and loudly that a society of developing democracy requires press organs which express different viewpoint, otherwise the polemics will be sterile, otherwise it will be impossible to have a consistent search for the truth; it is all the more necessary to have press organs which educate the youth in a spirit of citizenship, patriotism and morality)—instead of recognizing for MOLODAYA GVARDIYA the right of defending patriotism, high convictions and ideals, instead of recognizing the journal's right to have its own readers and authors, a majority of whom is young persons, instead of all of this the Komsomol Central Committee through the Propaganda Department began carrying out the tactics of nit-picking and applying pressure, clearly having set the goal of either forcing the editor to alter the journal's course toward a leftist radicalism or to force the journal's leadership to quit in a voluntary-forced manner.

It has been an unprecedented matter for the years of perestroika with the workers of the journal's main editorial personnel and at times even all the editorial staff to be summoned time and time again to the Propaganda Department for "fault-finding." Periodically the journal was subjected to close "readings" and "reviews," sedition was sought out in it and one after another "comment sheet" was drawn up in which the particular and generally speaking common errors or failings for everyday journalism were over-exaggerated while the basic reason for these "shortcomings" was ascribed to the supposedly significant age of the journal's leading workers. This lamentable causative conclusion has been repeated with amazing tenacity although the average age of the editorial workers at present is under 40, even considering the age of the journal's editor-in-chief, the well-known Soviet writer, Hero of Socialist Labor, winner of the USSR and RSFSR State Prizes and the Lenin Komsomol Prize, A.S. Ivanov, who has dedicated the best years of his creative life to educating the youth and working with the youth.

Seeing that A.S. Ivanov did not intend to respond "properly" to the obvious hints by workers from the Propaganda Department of the Komsomol Central Committee to leave the journal and seeing that the editorial personnel and the party organization and journal editors did not like the "flak" to unseat the editor-in-chief and understood that consolidation and editorial unity were particularly important and essential during a period of acute ideological struggle in perestroika, the Propaganda Department undertook attempts to destroy the journal in relying on the conclusions of an independent creative commission which was assigned to analyze the work of the editors from the journal MOLODAYA GVARDIYA in perestroika and answer the questions: Does the journal hold an antiperestroika position and on its pages does it conduct

anti-Sinitic propaganda, as has been asserted by the "leftist" tinted with the yellow of the mass information media? Here the minor Komsomol clerks looking longingly for soft armchairs in the editorial offices let it be known unambiguously to certain inspectors what conclusion they would like to have....

We do not know about other editorial offices but at the editorial offices of MOLODAYA GVARDIYA there are no soft armchairs for young, let alone early bureaucrats, as we work on hard editorial chairs. We work under harsh conditions of moral, psychological stress, under conditions of an acute personnel shortage and unceasing suspicion from the Komsomol Central Committee. In order to substantiate this, let us turn to at least certain facts.

Contrary to the expectations of the Propaganda Department of the Komsomol Central Committee, the conclusion of the commission which inspected the work of MOLODAYA GVARDIYA was as a whole affirmative. In leaving the editorial offices, a majority of the commission members stated that while previously they read the magazine sporadically, now they would become permanent subscribers to it. Such a conclusion was in no way to the liking of those ready to tear the editors to bits. It is no accident that regardless of the promises to discuss the results of the work done by this commission before the Secretariat of the Komsomol Central Committee no later than a month thereafter, there was no such discussion. Now the Propaganda Department is pretending that the work results of this inspection commission are not of interest to anyone and are of no importance. And this is regardless of the corresponding decision of the Secretariat of the Komsomol Central Committee.

How has the Propaganda Department of the Komsomol Central Committee responded to the magazine's needs?

The editors in discussing their work in the Propaganda Department of the Komsomol Central Committee have repeatedly stated that the journal needs, for example, a department of international life in order to be able to take up on its pages the life of youth in socialist and other countries.

In response, there has been zero attention.

The editors have said repeatedly that considering the growing reader mail, the magazine needs new personnel for handling the correspondence.

In reply, zero attention.

The editors have said repeatedly that in order to more fully present to the national reader the creativity of the young minority authors as well as our classic heritage, the journal should be increased in size.

In reply, zero attention.

The editors have repeatedly raised the question of personnel transfers and appointments, including approving

new members of the editorial staff and which according to the nomenklatura is a function of the Komsomol Central Committee.

In reply, zero attention.

Complete silence. A blank wall.

Proceeding from the new "Law Governing Labor Collectives," the editors at a meeting of the labor collective took a number of decisions on personnel questions.

In reply, zero attention.

Things have even reached the funny point. The Komsomol Central Committee was unable to fire a dismissed worker from the position held even within the 2-month period provided by the legislation.

Having felt the full reticence and inability of the Komsomol Central Committee to work with the currently existing editors of the journal MOLODAYA GVARDIYA, the collective has taken the decision and informed the Komsomol Central Committee of its readiness to convert to cost accounting in order to be able to independently settle all those questions and problems which the Komsomol Central Committee has firmly ignored.

In reply, the same silence of the grave.

But from outside, rumors began to reach us (murder, as they say, will out) of the intentions of the Propaganda Department of the Komsomol Central Committee to reorient and restructure the journal, to turn it into the appendage of another editorial staff or into a theoretical publication as an appendix, for instance, to MOLODOY KOMMUNIST or KOMSOMOLSKAYA ZHIZN. These rumors were initiated by the vociferous statements from various informal structures which called generally for the "closing down" of MOLODAYA GVARDIYA and this is, so to speak, Red Guard "democracy" in action, when the right of glasnost is understood as only one right to shut the mouth of someone else! We feel it is no accident that there has been a rise in such openly reactionary, prohibitive "mail" sent to the Komsomol Central Committee and which, incidentally, is carefully concealed from the editors and perhaps this is so because the places where such missiles are dispatched to the Central Committee in some strange manner at times coincide with the regions where workers of the Propaganda Department have been sent on official business.

However, it is indicative that when the inspection commission was about to arrive at the editorial offices, and when rumors were spreading about it through Moscow and the other cities and towns, the readers uniformly viewed the work of the commission as preparations for retribution against the journal and our editorial offices were flooded with letters containing scores, hundreds and thousands of signatures by readers demanding that the journal be given the right and the opportunity to have its own creative appearance and its own stance

marked by a clear civil and patriotic focus, in contrast to the other, sex-crazed information media of the Komsomol.

Some three-quarters of a million of our subscribers have demanded that the magazine be left as it is in pere-stroyka! Many readers demanded that their letters and telegrams be handed to the First Secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee V.I. Mironenko as they were convinced that otherwise their opinion would not reach him.

The magazine's party organization turned over this correspondence to the offices of the first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee, and soon thereafter we received all this correspondence back from the Propaganda Department of the Komsomol Central Committee and it was returned as unnecessary. Clearly, they collect only the mail and responses which contain criticisms, dirt and slander of the magazine, its authors and readers.

Against this background, the rumors of the dismissal of the magazine's Editor-in-Chief A.S. Ivanov continued to grow. The editorial collective was left with nothing but to ask the direct question of the communist A.S. Ivanov: Are there any grounds for all these fears? "Yes," he replied, "I have already been told to submit a statement of retirement to the Komsomol Central Committee. The workers from the Propaganda Department of the Komsomol Central Committee have stated that they are afraid of being associated with MOLODAYA GVARDIYA at the Komsomol congress. Moreover, the departure of the editor-in-chief of MOLODAYA GVARDIYA, in the opinion of the Propaganda Department of the Komsomol Central Committee, would be a good example for the editors of other Komsomol magazines who have reached pension age."

It is rather terrible to hear such a thing in our days from Komsomol workers with a strong face and blue eyes. If the question were really of the pension age of the editors-in-chief of all the Komsomol publications, it could be settled not in such a slanderous and provocative manner. It is perfectly obvious that it is a question of personally throwing out A.S. Ivanov as an unwanted editor of an unwanted magazine. At one of the recent working overs at the Komsomol Central Committee, he was told directly that if he himself did not submit a request to retire, this question could be settled by the forthcoming Komsomol congress. They did not even conceal particularly who might pose this question at the congress.

In this context, we would like to say that the question of dismissing the editor-in-chief of MOLODAYA GVARDIYA cannot be settled in Kamera, secretly, by a small group of interested persons without considering the opinion of the magazine's editorial workers. We feel that the writer, editor and communist A.S. Ivanov (who, incidentally, has been awarded the Komsomol Honor Badge and the Badge Labor Valor, although the latter decoration for some reason has not been presented to

him) possesses not only the necessary professional qualities for work on the magazine but also the high civil responsibility to realize when he can step down.

Moreover, the editorial staff on which many writers and journalists have undergone good schooling and have left the magazine for a promotion, possesses sufficient courage and maturity so as at the necessary moment to raise itself the question of replacing the leadership, bearing in mind that the collective has creative forces capable of worthily continuing the literary-artistic and sociopolitical line of the journal.

We have been given the right to state and act in accord with this by perestroika, it has been given to us by glasnost as the underlying principle of a democratic press in a democratic society. And we will defend this right.

It is no secret that the criticism addressed to us has become particularly fierce when in a number of materials the magazine's authors—and they were predominantly readers!—took up the so-called "Jewish question" in the nation's history and mentioned a number of specific names of state and party leaders in the past who were involved in bloody dramas and tragedies of the Soviet people. The magazine was immediately styled anti-Semitic.

Just what does this mean? It turns out that we cannot write about certain phenomena in our life and our history. And this is particularly so of this theme. And so the "foremen of perestroika," foaming at the mouth, shout about the harm of semiglasnost and semitruth. But the party demands complete glasnost and complete truth. And what about us? Who is to blame for the semitruth? The Zionists, that is who. It is no accident that particular zeal in labeling us with anti-Semitism has been shown by the First Secretary of the CPSU Obkom in the Jewish Autonomous Oblast, Comrade B.L. Korsunskiy, and one of the former ideologues and rabid practitioners of stagnation in the party and now the editor-in-chief of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA KULTURA and member of the Ideological Commission of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade A.A. Belyayev.

Recently, at a February meeting of Comrade A.N. Yakovlev with the party aktiv, the students and faculty of Moscow State University imeni M.V. Lomonosov, he received a note with a question which he read out in the auditorium:

"Why has not a single member of the politburo condemned the openly Black Hundred propaganda by certain members of the Writers Union at the plenum of the RSFSR Writers Union and in the mass information media such as the magazines NASH SOVREMENNİK, MOLODAYA GVARDIYA and the newspapers LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA and MOSKOVSKIY LITERATOR? Many view this silence as support."

It is difficult to believe that the provocative nature of this question was not understood by Comrade A.N. Yakovlev, a secretary of the CPSU Central Committee

and member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee. Nevertheless, he said literally the following:

"I request, comrades, that I be permitted not to answer this question, because the above-mentioned magazines rough me up in virtually every issue...."

We do not know what other publications have written about you, respected Aleksandr Nikolayevich [Yakovlev], but MOLODAYA GVARDIYA has not yet criticized you, let alone rough you up. We feel that you, Aleksandr Nikolayevich, in line with your enormous business with state and political matters would simply not have the time to constantly read our journal and that someone is telling tales and slandering MOLODAYA GVARDIYA. But these slanderous statements are being very skillfully used by someone to fan passions and in order, in particular, to settle scores with the magazine.

Now it is constantly said that Comrade A.N. Yakovlev may assume the post of general secretary of our party or the place of its chairman. But even then—and all the more then—the editors of the magazine MOLODAYA GVARDIYA keep the right of having their own opinion on all questions of our life and party and Komsomol policy, to have and defend this opinion, without humoring the viewpoint of those who respond too nervously to any criticism. This applies fully to the private opinions of the workers of the Komsomol Central Committee.

Our readers, the members of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and the members of the Buro of the Komsomol Central Committee can, ultimately, ask just what does MOLODAYA GVARDIYA want?

We are not seeking a confrontation and are not striving for this. We want to work hand in hand with the party, with the Komsomol, in a spirit of complete trust and mutual support. But we do not want in the spirit of the former times to be branded with all sorts of labels or accused of nationalism and anti-Semitism. We do not want in seeking to toady up to group passions and ambitions to be forcibly alienated from real perestroika which is essential for our society or from improving socialism. The struggle for creation, for the renewal of the socialist fatherland for us is not a propaganda campaign but rather a cause of all our life. MOLODAYA GVARDIYA has stood, stands and will stand for this.

All of us at present find it very difficult to have the courage to speak and recognize the truth. But if we, in spite of the errors and confusion, do not do this, we will never approach the purifying truth, the light of which illuminates the future.

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**Goskompechat Chairman on Publishing Sector  
Woes, Press Law**

90US0905A Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in  
Russian 5 May 90 p 6

[Interview with Nikolay Yefimov, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Press, by Ye. Grandova, SOVETSKAYA KULTURA correspondent: "How to Become the Heirs of Sytin?"; date and place not specified; first paragraph is SOVETSKAYA KULTURA introduction]

[Text] I have heard that the chief role in the solution of the problems of book publishing in our country is played by Goskompechat USSR. I would like to meet with the director of this department in the pages of the newspaper, writes Saratov librarian I. Ivanova. There are quite a few such requests in the editorial mail. Today our correspondent talks with the chairman of the USSR State Committee for Press.

[Question] First of all, Nikolay Ivanovich, please clarify for our readers what the publishing industry of the country is today and what the functions of its staff—the Goskompechat USSR—are.

[Answer] The industry consists of three components: The publishing business, including various processes of the preparation of the manuscripts of future books and journals for publication; the printing industry, which secures the manufacture of editions; and book distribution, which is engaged in the sale of the finished product.

Of every 100 books that are published by the country's publishing houses, approximately 65 appear in the central and local publishing houses that are part of the USSR Goskompechat system. The remaining 35—in publishing houses belonging to party and trade union organizations, and the creative unions. Hence the chief task of the committee is the coordination of book publishing in the country, the conduct of a single state policy, and the elaboration of the conception of the development of the press in the country.

[Question] Recently people talk a great deal about the necessity of not simply the democratization, but radical restructuring in the publishing business. . . .

[Answer] It seems to me that restructuring in book publishing must be understood as a process, whose goal is the realization of the following principles: Demonopolization, securing for all participants equal rights and possibilities, the creation of an infrastructure capable of guaranteeing the effective development of the industry.

The process of demonopolization was begun 3 years ago, when the collegium decided in favor of an extremely radical action—the elimination of the right of the committee to confirmation of all publishing plans. The publishing houses decided for themselves what to publish and in what editions. This was a serious step forward, which strengthened the independence of the publishers and led to the elimination of administrations

of Goskomizdat [USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade]. And nevertheless, the monopoly in publishing affairs did not disappear. The monopoly now came down a step of the guilt—from the level of the committee to the level of the publishers. Moreover, many authors complain about the intensification of the dictate on the part of the publishers.

What should be done?

Today hardly anyone can offer serious competition to, let us say, the publishing house "Khudozhestvennaya literatura", which is recognized as a monopolist. Where are authors—specialists in the sphere of economics, chemistry, and international relations to submit their work, if in our country, as a rule, there is one, more rarely—two, and a maximum of three such specialized publishers. People who are dissatisfied demand of us: "Influence, command, and in the end press!" But we cannot and we will not do this: We would destroy the decision that we ourselves have adopted. Such a situation inevitably leads to thought—new publishers are needed to supplement the existing ones. A stimulus in this direction may be provided by the future Law on the Press.

Where there are no monopolies of the press, there the author has both a richer choice of the future publisher and a multicolored palette of publications. I will cite one example. In America the until then completely unknown author Robert Pirsig thought of writing the book "Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance." Its title is deceptive. This is a book about travel in the United States, a book—reflection. The author knocked on the doors of 121 publishers and received rejections. Only the 122nd attempt proved to be successful. The William Morrow Publishing Company agreed to publish the book in a small edition, and after 6 months carried out its promise. And the book became a bestseller. It was read by millions. And every year it is sold out in an edition of 100,000 copies.

I grant the author of the book the persistence with which he pushed his work through the bureaucratic obstacles (and they exist there, too) of the American publishers. But I will note that R. Pirsig, in contrast to our authors, had nevertheless a higher probability of realizing his plan—to publish his first book. His chances were not reduced to one to three publishers. In the United States there exist up to 24,000 of them—temporary and permanent ones, in England—about 3,500, in Hungary—more than 300. Besides the giants, a multitude of medium-size and mini-publishers operate there. But in our immense country there are slightly more than 240.

We need new, including small, mobile publishers. Up to now only the first steps have been taken.

[Question] At present the public is discussing the draft Law on the Press. Your attitude to this draft?



[Answer] The draft Law on the Press lays down a number of fundamentally important provisions, for the sake of which it would be worthwhile to adopt it. I will underscore two of them: The elimination of censorship and the demonopolization of the press. In practice this means that many new publishers, newspapers and journals will appear, which will appear in the conditions of political pluralism and professional competition. As a result, the Law on the Press will be conducive to the increase of the quality of information, the effectiveness of publications, and the diversity of choice.

However, the problem of material-technical support will arise. We have already run into this. Unlimited subscription to periodical literature exceeds the existing possibilities. The periodical press is a state order. To secure it, we are forced to go to a reduction in the publication of books. For example, the growth in subscription in the current year of NOVYY MIR alone "eats up" the output of 25-26 million books.

[Question] How is the subject structure of book publishing put together—let us say in terms of the editions of books?

[Answer] For the convenience of state statistics, the calculations are made in conventional ten-sheet calculations. If we look at the structure of book publishing through the prism of this statistic, then the following picture is drawn. In the past year alone, according to preliminary results, approximately 2,841 million copies of books and pamphlets were published. In the first place is fiction. Its volume increased significantly and reached approximately 43.5 percent, then comes educational literature—17.5 percent, and children's literature—13 percent. The volume of socio-political literature fell by up to 8 percent and scientific-technical literature—by up to 7 percent. The remaining place is occupied by reference and educational methodological literature.

Readers, however, are interested not in conventional sheets and impressions, but in the real book. And in terms of paper expended, it may be different. So that if we talk not about conventional, but real books, then 255 million fewer books are published compared to the average statistical books. There is also an important change in the entire subject structure. Children's literature goes to first place—28.5 percent of the total size of edition, then fiction—about 24 percent, then educational literature—about 16 percent, socio-political literature—about 11 percent, and scientific-technical literature—approximately on the same order. And, finally, reference and educational-methodological literature—9 percent. As a result, one can say that, by comparison with past years, there has been an increase in the volume of editions of children's literature, fiction, and educational literature at the expense of the reduction in the edition of publications on other subjects.

[Question] In that case, does it not seem to you that the pursuit of high editions in the conditions of a paper

shortage that promises high profits to publishers leads to the thematic impoverishment of book publishing?

[Answer] Such a tendency does exist. But it is called forth not by the pursuit of editions, but by the aspiration to satisfy demand. In 15 years (from 1974 to 1987), the number of books published in our country diminished by 3,700 titles.

Meanwhile in world practice an important indicator is applied—the output of book titles per 1 million of population. It characterizes the breadth of the scientific-technical and cultural information of a society

Thus, if we use this indicator, we publish two times fewer books than the United States and Japan, three times fewer books than the FRG, Great Britain and Spain, and four times fewer books than the Scandinavian countries. In terms of this indicator, we are inferior to Hungary, the GDR, Bulgaria, and Czechoslovakia by a factor of 3.5. And this gap, unfortunately, is not diminishing with the years.

A still more contrasting picture is taking shape within the country. In terms of the number of titles being published by republic publishers per 1 million of the population, Estonia is in first place with 543 titles, then Lithuania—with 306, and Georgia—with 290. . . . And in last place are the publishers of multilingual Russia, which publish only 53 titles per 1 million of the population.

These are very disturbing disproportions and they must be corrected. This is, above all, where our material and financial means should be directed.

[Question] Readers reproach your department for the shortage of good books and the lack of paper in the country. . . .

[Answer] We are not suppliers, but consumers of paper. It is distributed by Gosplan and the USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply. We only divide the "bread of culture" obtained by us between the central publishers.

In the mirror of world statistics, the USSR occupies 42nd place in terms of the per capita production of paper.

[Question] Nikolay Ivanovich, although Goskompechat is not occupied with paper, as you have made clear, it is nevertheless obviously impossible to leave this topic. At one of the collegia of the committee, the director of the publisher "Sovetskiy pisatel" stated with bitterness that, let us say, the publication of the collected works of A. Solzhenitsyn has been held up—no paper: They took it from the publishers for the fulfillment of the state orders for the publication of children's literature, political literature, and textbooks. For fiction the situation remains meager. It has been recommended to publishers to enter into direct agreements with papermaking enterprises, and they, in turn, for a container of paper ask for a container of brick. . . . Perhaps the writers—people's deputies for whom the problems of book publishing are

their vital problems, could, if you like, unite on this ground and solve the, so to speak, paper problem in parliament?

[Answer] Paper is allotted to publishers not for books of any concrete writer, but for a volume of output of printed products planned by the publisher for a year. The publishing house itself determines to whom among the authors to give priority.

All the publishers of the country, regardless of to whom they belong, have actually had their stocks "trimmed." As I have already said, the reason is the significant growth in the subscription to periodical literature with the previous level of the output of printing types of paper.

I can report that, regardless of the difficulties with paper, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's "Arkhipelag GULAG" [The Gulag Archipelago] will appear this year not only by "Sovetskiy Pisatel" [publishing house], but also by "Kniga", Kemerovskiy, and Dalnevostochnyy book publishers. In addition, in the next 2 years, various works by A. Solzhenitsyn will be published by "Khodozhestvennaya literatura," "Sovetskaya Rossiya," "Sovremennik," "Knizhnaya palata," and Petrozavodsk, Stavropol, and Saratov publishing houses.

The problem with paper remains, and it is necessary to solve it.

[Question] Last year, at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet at which you were confirmed in your new post as chairman of Goskompechat USSR, you declared that you will develop a new direction of publishing activity—the output of books at the expense of the funds of the author. I remember that you promised that in 1989 about 500 titles would be published in this manner. Has this promise been carried out?

[Answer] It has been carried out. According to the for the time being incomplete data of the All-Union Book Chamber, last year 470 book titles were published at the expense of funds of the author. Moreover, the statistical book-keeping does not include for the time being some publications in the languages of the peoples of the USSR. After the processing of additional information, I think, this quantitative indicator will increase and we will obtain approximately what we promised.

[Question] In readers' letters, the following theme is very often heard: The country has a shortage of paper, but you are printing the low-standard literature of dilettantes only on the ground that they can pay for this! Better let a spare volume of Tsvetayeva be published. . . .

[Answer] I am not an adherent of such categorical judgments. First of all, these publications are not provided for by the plan, and the paper for them is practically not allotted by us. Some books appear on paper economized by the publisher or the press.

Secondly, it is impossible to impoverish our literature and to limit ourselves to the publication of only the

recognized masters. Let us remember that the very young Marina Tsvetayeva published in 1910 her first small book of poems "Vecherniy albom" [Evening Album] in an edition of 500 copies at her own expense. Who knows, perhaps this is how talents will appear who will be a match for Tsvetayeva or, let us say, for Fet, who also published all of his books, with the exception of one, at his own expense.

[Question] And nevertheless, does it not seem to you that it is not gifted authors who have priority here as authors who are well-to-do, and thus the principle "he who pays also orders the music" will operate without a hitch?

[Answer] We will not forget that we want to restructure our life in a democratic manner. As applied to such a practice of publication, this means that any author can propose to any publisher to publish his book at the author's expense and in an author's edition. This does not mean, however, that the publisher is obliged to publish any author, even one who, let us say, has money in his pocket, but has an empty soul. Taking care of his reputation, the publisher should not publish a graphomaniac. The publisher can always support his decision with arguments. The paradox, however, lies in the fact that both the authors and the publishers frequently turn to the committee with appeals. Some demand—"compel them to print us." The others ask—"prohibit us from printing them." I would like to remind both the one and the other side that, in the conditions of the democratization of the publication process, these questions are exclusively within the competence of the author and the publisher. And to have resort to the mediation of the committee in such cases—means to call upon us to return again to the obsolete methods of administration.

And those who nevertheless have a skeptical attitude to the new publishing practice, I would like to remind that precisely in that way the alternative law on the press of three authors—Baturin, Fedorov, and Entin—was published last year. A great many of their elaborations have now been introduced in the draft Law on the Press.

[Question] Now that we have once again recalled the Law on the Press, I would like to find out your opinion about the possibilities of opening cooperative publishing houses that are envisaged in its draft.

[Answer] Cooperators actively cooperate with publishers. By the decree of the USSR Ministry of Finance of 29 December 1988 "On the Regulation of Some Types of Activity of Cooperatives in Conformity With the Law on Cooperation in the USSR" they were granted the right to provide editorial and publishing services to publishers, by agreement with publishers to determine the size of the edition of literature that is published above all at the expense of the author's funds, as well as to publish advertising and information publications.

There are positive examples. At the Kniga Publishing House, for example, the Arion Cooperative has been established, which determines the edition size of a number of books planned by the publishing house. At

Yuridicheskaya literatura, the Tekst Cooperative will prepare for publication a series of the best domestic and foreign detectives. The Moscow Koperayt Cooperative and the Leningrad Redaktor Cooperative specialize in the preparation of books that are published at the expense of the author's funds. In all these cases, the cooperatives not only provide services in regard to the preparation of manuscripts for publication, but they find the necessary paper and printing base for future publications.

But, unfortunately, practice is not too lavish in such positive examples. The fact that lately the counters and underground passages have been filled with low-grade publications, at times, I would even say, with an after-taste of "porno" cannot be but disturbing.

Remember our history. Ivan Dmitriyevich Sytin did not publish himself into a loss, but entered the culture of our country not as a bloodsucking capitalist, but as an enlightener who did for book publishing of our country not a bit less than Tretyakov did for Russian painting. Among our cooperators for the time being there are not so many of those who would set as their goal "to sow what is reasonable, good, and eternal," and too many of those who, in the pursuit of an easy wage, are prepared to satisfy the most undeveloped tastes. I more than once heard the proposal: Only those cooperatives should receive the right to independent publishing activity after the adoption of the Law on the Press, which have earned experience not so much in the pursuit of profit as of publishing activity, and in so doing showed taste and clearly emphasized their publishing profile.

[Question] A seemingly attractive proposition. But if we think it over—behind it are the usual appeals and prohibitions.

[Answer] The legislators, as far as I understand, are leading the matter in another direction. In the direction so that the organs in the center and in the provinces, which will be charged with devoting themselves to the

mass media, would not permit or prohibit, but merely register new publications. Would only register.

Prohibitions have become obsolete. But we will be honest, will it not turn out as with the videolibraries, which under the aegis of the Komsomol and trade union organizations, are pursuing profit and are actively sowing anti-culture? Such a danger cannot be excluded given our general level of culture, and it is—you yourself know what it is like. I am convinced: It is necessary to envisage a mechanism for the regulation of contradictory processes, to guard society against the invasion of various "Lili" [Lilly] or "Pokhozheniya kosmicheskoy prostitutki" [The Adventures of a Space Prostitute], which have already been published.

[Question] Does it not seem to you that the book boom in general is going into a slump?

[Answer] In the world such a slump is being observed. We are not fenced off from it by any walls. There are many reasons for it: The temptations have become more—from video to electronic games. But a book requires effort and solitude.

[Question] What would you wish in these conditions both for the writers and the readers?

[Answer] For the writers, to remain writers, to create works. You know, we value them not for discord. The subject is forgotten, the book remains. Do you know how many books a man reads during his life? According to book exports, on the average—600. This is what writers need to be reminded of—will his book be among this number?

For the readers—to find favorite books and during their life repeatedly return to them. To find and to return.

[Question] Well, and we, the readers, will hope that the USSR Goskompechat will help us find our books and to return to them.

**Goskompriroda Deputy Views USSR International Treaty Participation**

90WN0156A Moscow PRAVITELSTVENNYY  
VESTNIK in Russian No 24, Jun 90 p 8

[Interview with Stanislav Yuryevich Tsurikov, deputy chairman of USSR Goskompriroda [State Committee for Environmental Protection], by PRAVITELSTVENNYY VESTNIK Correspondent G. Konstantinov: "The Soviet Side is Bound to...."]

[Text] The USSR Council of Ministers Resolution "On Measures for Organization of the Accomplishment of the Soviet Side's Obligations for Environmental Protection and Rational Utilization of Natural Resources that Result from the USSR's International Agreements" has been adopted. S.Yu. Tsurikov, deputy chairman of USSR Goskompriroda [State Committee for Environmental Protection], discusses it at the request of our Correspondent G. Konstantinov.

[Konstantinov] Stanislav Yuryevich, it is already clear to the attentive reader from the title of the document that previously our country did not always fulfill its international agreements....

[Tsurikov] In any case in the area of the ecology. This situation, in essence, was programmed by the very organization of the matter. Many departments that actively exploit natural resources and pollute the environment also "monitored" their own environmental protection activities, including international aspects. Here are just two characteristic examples: Minrybkhos [Ministry of the Fish Industry] insured compliance with the Convention on Protection of Antarctic Seals that was signed in 1972 and USSR Minmorflot [Ministry of the Maritime Fleet] insured compliance with the International Convention on Prevention of Pollution from Ships.

[Konstantinov] This reminds me about the saying regarding the goat and the cabbage....

[Tsurikov] Naturally. It really is obvious that the goals of economic activity will very often contradict ecological requirements. Where the preference is assigned in these cases is, I suggest, a rhetorical question. After establishment of USSR Goskompriroda the situation gradually began to change—inspections and monitoring compliance with ecological demands is becoming extra-departmental. And in international matters these functions have now been transferred to our committee.

[Konstantinov] Can you handle it? Really our country has concluded quite a few environmental protection treaties.

[Tsurikov] Yes, we have already organized fulfillment of the obligations that the Soviet Union has assumed in accordance with over 30 documents. I will name just a few in order to stress the breadth and importance of the tasks: The Convention on Prevention of Pollution of the Sea Through the Discharge of Wastes and Other Materials, the Convention on Protection of the Worldwide

Cultural and Natural Heritage, the Agreement Between the Government of the USSR and the Government of the U.S. on Cooperation in the Sphere of Environmental Protection, the Agreement on Conservation of Polar Bears, the Convention on Trans-Border Air Pollution at Great Distances and the Protocol on a 30 Percent Reduction of Sulfur Discharges, and the Declaration on Cooperation of the Danay [Basin] States on Issues of Danay River Water Management.

Furthermore, we are conducting preparatory work for the USSR to adhere to a number of other international environmental agreements and conventions. And, finally, the committee's tasks include analysis of fulfillment by other departments of another nearly 30 such documents signed by our country.

Naturally, the USSR Goskompriroda staff is not capable of independently conducting this work—we intend to enlist a number of scientific research institutes to do it. I suggest that this will insure thoroughness of monitoring and high level, independent inspections. Furthermore, an interdepartmental commission will be created under USSR Goskompriroda that will include representatives of union republics, the USSR Academy of Sciences, ministries, departments, and organizations that are directly responsible for fulfillment of the USSR's international environmental protection obligations.

**Bergen Conference Proceedings Analyzed**

90WN0156B Moscow PRAVITELSTVENNYY  
VESTNIK in Russian No 23, Jun 90 p 11

[Article by German Lomanov, Bergen—Moscow: "For the Sake of Our Common Future"]

[Text] It is difficult to write knowing that you probably will not be read. The theme of these notes is the results of the regional conference on the environment and development that is taking place in the Norwegian city of Bergen where representatives of 34 countries have gathered. And I well remember that this theme is far from the problems that disturb literally each of us in our country today.

There, in Bergen, it is a warm day and there is a cloudless blue sky over the quiet inlets of the fjords. Here, in Moscow, it is overcast and unseasonably cold for May. There—the splendor of the store windows, here—emptied by panicky counter price fixing and trade by passport. There—difficult, but diplomatically correct discussions about the coming threat of global climate changes. Here—a ChP [Extraordinary Event] in the Uglegorskaya Mine where miners were poisoned with some sort of trash that leaked into a coal-face from a chemical dump which no one had paid any attention to for nearly 30 years. Incidentally, V. Doguzhiyev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet State Commission on Extraordinary Events, and his deputy A. Tsygankov could not come to the conference due to this ChP. N. Vorontsov, chairman of USSR Goskompriroda [State Committee for Environmental Protection], headed the



delegation that consisted of USSR Gosplan Deputy Chairman V. Durasov and USSR Minister of Power and Electrification Yu. Semenov.

The conference's motto was "For the sake of our common future." You agree that it is difficult ponder what the 21st Century will bring for us when today's sores itch so unbearably. But really it is impossible to live only with momentary concerns. If we live and think like that, tomorrow could turn out to be worse than today. This is why I think that the conference itself and the statement adopted by the ministers representing 34 countries nevertheless is worthy of our attention.

"We cannot predict the future but we warn," wrote the members of the International Commission on the Environment and Development at the beginning of 1987. Based on the latest scientific data, this "urgent warning" said that the time had come for decisions required to insure living conditions for present and future generations. Actually, industrial pollution is destroying the protective ozone layer both over the highly populated Northern Hemisphere and over the Antarctic. Significant warming in the 1980's, awesome floods, drought, and strong typhoons convinced many experts that the greenhouse effect from industrial pollution is causing rapid warming of the Earth. And a sort of new thinking—consciousness of the fact that ecological problems are inseparable from economic growth and mankind's progress as a whole—also arrived along with the increased concern about the state of the environment.

One of the primary issues that was discussed at the conference was limitation of the emissions of gases that cause the greenhouse effect, mainly carbon dioxide that is formed in enormous quantities when organic fuel is burned in thermal electric plants. This is no accident: Nearly a quarter of the planet's population, concentrated mainly in the ECE (UN Economic Commission for Europe) Countries, are expending three fourths of the world's primary energy reserves. And they obtain it mainly through burning gas, fuel oil, and coal. Naturally, global warming heavily depends on the energy policies of the ECE region's countries. Did the conference participants manage to come to some sort of agreement?

There are neither specific figures nor precisely defined time periods in the ministers statement and you will not find instructions about when and how much the countries of the ECE region intend to reduce harmful emissions. One of the experts ironically called the statement "a declaration of intentions." Yes, this document can be assessed only as a moral obligation. The United States did not want to discuss more specific measures. According to expert opinions, their position is dictated by the fact that U.S. accounts for 25 percent of the total balance of carbon dioxide emissions. It is clear that reorientation of energy and industry would require impressive expenditures from American corporations. Our country also cannot assume such obligations: The

structure and level of technology in the fuel and energy complex simply do not allow us to provide any guarantees whatsoever right now.

Somehow or other the certain superficiality and groundlessness of the ministers statement—and it had already become clear what it would be during the course of the conference's work—caused an abrupt repudiation from those who we call informalists. Groups of young people with placards sat on the small lawn or stood near the entrance of the Hotel Norge where the ministers were meeting and the experts were working. And I was already happy at how properly the Greens demonstrations were occurring in the West but suddenly the scream of police sirens disrupted the silence. The Greens had literally pounced upon the conference participants who were leaving the hotel and more than 100 police officers immediately arrived to restore order. I had the opportunity to hear in the corridors of the conference that all of these demonstrations are a spectacle orchestrated by those countries who, like the Greens, have insisted on the inclusion of more specific obligations in the final document. I do not know if this is true or not but one thing is indisputable—it seems that the informalists have participated in such a representative conference for the first time. And the ministers admitted in their statement that it was not without success:

"The preparatory process in which representatives of various groups of our society participated as full-fledged partners was very useful to us: Industry, scientists, trade unions, volunteer organizations for environmental protection, and young people. Representatives of these groups together with government organs prepared the Bergen program of events which we take into account."

Representatives of our Greens were also in Bergen. I argued for a long time with Ye. Vasilyeva, leader of the Murmansk youth ecological movement and later it seems that we came to a consensus as it is currently fashionable to say. Yes, the Greens are categorical and many of their proposals do not consider either economic capabilities nor the level of technology. But first of all many of them, while disavowing populist slogans, are increasingly heeding common sense arguments and are beginning serious work, including research work on improving the environment. And secondly, obviously this strong catalyst is needed so that stagnant water is not covered by the duckweed of stagnation and secrecy.

And the statement precisely stated the need for widespread access to ecological information: "We stress the importance of a well-informed and well-educated society's participation in order to provide society the capability to mobilize to conduct political changes that are compatible with the tasks of stable development. The Bergen process is an important step forward toward optimizing the democratic decision-making process that affects environmental and development issues."

It is difficult to dispute this. Commentators assessed the conference differently: Some considered it a new age in

the activities of the UN and others, contrary to the ministers statement, considered it to be a step backward and not forward. Having cast aside the most extreme opinions, we recognize the main thing—at Bergen, representatives of 34 countries demonstrated their intent to deflect the threat of ecological crisis away from future generations. Ecological thinking does not easily enter into the consciousness of people educated on the ideas of consumerism. It is possible that the conference did not justify some people's hopes but it made a constructive contribution to the realization of the idea of Groos Harlem Brundtland, the former premier of Norway and chairman of the International Commission on the Environment and Development. The idea is as follows: "We need to establish a European ecological space in which political borders have less significance and will sooner unite than separate us."

Today's rigors and concerns should not replace alarm about the future. Reader, look closely at this sculptured figure by the famous Norwegian sculptor Vigeland. Look closely at it and think....

#### **Toxic Substance Mishandling Trend Seen As Possible 'Chemical Chernobyl'**

90WN0099B Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian  
21 May 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Article by Ye. Solomenko: "The Risk Factor: How To Safeguard Our Menu"]

[Text] At the beginning of February in Novosibirsk a panic began. When people put a spoonful or so of sugar into their tea, the liquid took on a frightening blue color right before their very eyes. City health authorities couldn't understand what was going on and turned for help to the scientists from Akademgorodok in the Institute of Organic Chemistry. An analysis showed: the sugar was loaded with crystals from a dye which people call "zelenka." The food processors blundered and mixed it in with the sugar and packaged it.

A far more dangerous chemical could wind up on our dinner table in similar fashion. And it almost did. Back in January specialists from the "Inya" agricultural firm noted that greenhouse plantings of cucumbers were behaving oddly. The foliage appeared diseased although the cucumbers themselves looked quite marketable. Neither the plant protection station nor the oblast health authorities could find the cause. So the agricultural firm's management knocked on the door of the same Institute of Organic Chemistry.

The results of the analysis shocked everyone: the greenhouse soil turned out to be contaminated by a strong toxic chemical - amine salt.

"But we didn't use it! the "Inya" workers said surprised. We sterilized the soil with a formalin solution."

The investigation initiated by the procuracy discovered that the toxic substance was contained in the formalin

containers which arrived at the agricultural firm from "Iskitimskaya Selkhozkhimiya." Everything was as simple as in a horrible dream: they took barrels which had toxic residues on the bottom and did not take the time to check if the container was empty or clean. And they threw in the formalin solution. Now these cucumber plantings on all twelve hectares have been destroyed completely and a deep removal and replacement of the soil is underway. More than 7 million rubles went down the tubes.

It is quite possible that the losses could have been measured not in rubles but in hospital beds and human lives. By the way, where's the guarantee that similar "formalin" didn't find its way to other farms as well?

And memory obligingly serves up more and more facts. About the cans of green peas which were first sold and then the polite director proposed over the radio (to those who hadn't already eaten them) that the cans be returned to the store. About the tea which had a completely normal color with and without sugar but which had very abnormal radioactivity (they say that the frightened residents of Novosibirsk literally returned strategic reserves to retail stores - dozens of tons of tea).

All of these "case studies" lead us to a terrible conclusion: each time that we sit down at the dinner table, we (especially our children who are more sensitive to the "wonders of chemistry") take a risk.

However, our powerful instinct for psychological self-preservation bristles: but there is a control system, it will protect us. We were brought up in the sacred belief that our beloved state had insured us once and for all against all possible misfortunes and that thousands of vigilant guards protected our health, peace and safety. There is control.

Often, there is no control, only its appearance. In order to arrest just one of many violators of the chemical border (I am speaking about pesticides), to guarantee the reliable monitoring of their content in produce, the Novosibirsk plant protection station would have to analyze each year 50 to 60 thousand samples. If only they had the resources to "shovel through" a tenth of that.

This is because the overwhelming majority of the warriors of our health and chemical "customs service" is armed with instruments which should have been donated to a museum a long time ago. To monitor the quality of food products with their help is the same as trying to create an orbiting space station with a stone axe.

That's our ability to economize in areas where you mustn't cut corners and then to toss out billions on the implementation of risky projects...

And that's why you have to wait about four days for the results of an ordinary analysis. And when the analysis sends out as "SOS" because, for example, some onions are practically bursting with pesticides, it turns out that

the onions are already being sold hand over fist. In this way, the absence of an express-analysis makes the monitoring of perishable store and market produce essentially impossible.

However, even if the analysis was done and doesn't show anything, that doesn't guarantee that we won't be poisoned. That's because the health authorities might check the produce for one pesticide while the state farm used an altogether different one. The farm itself often doesn't know what kind of "pig in a poke" was handed to them by the "Selkhozkhimiya" association because it is not unusual that the chemicals are delivered without a label, without instructions. And they don't take into account at all what kind of chemical products were used on a field previously although everyone knows that they don't disappear without a trace but have the bad habit of accumulating in the soil.

Recently the Siberian branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences lead by its chairman, V. Koptug, has gone on the offensive in the fight for clean food products. Highly sensitive methods of analysis are being worked out including an express-analysis system; a pesticide analysis center is being created as well as an ecological arbitration center...

Our environment today is reminiscent of the situation in which a person is drowning in front of a crowd of people. Everyone is yelling, "Save him," but nobody is venturing into the water. There are a lot of meetings, appeals, emotions - but very little concrete work, dull and thankless. Here in Siberia an attempt has been made to combat an ecological catastrophe with the "whole world" by uniting the forces of the Novosibirsk Oblast Environmental Protection Committee, the enormous resources of the Siberian branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the collectives of the polluting enterprises themselves and public groups including the "greens" whom some official ecologists fear like fire and refer to as loudmouths.

The ecological program for the period up to the year 2005 for the Novosibirsk oblast is now being completed. This is not just another paper bulwark but the first experience with a scientifically substantiated systems approach to a resolution of the problem, a plan to move from slogans and empty talk to concrete and effective actions. This kind of collaboration and this kind of plan for joint actions is kind of an experiment. It can't be ruled out that this method will provide the key in future years to success on a country-wide scale.

But whose jurisdiction does this key fall into? Who handles the entire complex of protection measures? A total of five ministries and departments are responsible for issues of pesticide control in the USSR. Once again - the immortal system of bureaucratic departmentalism!

And then there is the problem of storage. In the Novosibirsk oblast only 12 percent of all treatment materials, fungicides and insecticides all stored in normal warehouse facilities designed for this purpose.

The rest are homeless vagrants; the chemical bombs spend the night under the stars, and the winds and rains spread them throughout neighboring forests, valleys, farm land and rivers.

In addition, almost 300 tons of these poisonous deposits won't go anywhere now because they have either been ruined due to poor storage conditions, their product life has expired, or their use has been discontinued. What do you do with them? The manufacturers do not accept them back for reprocessing. Store them underground? That's dangerous; you can expect more accidents. So this horrible supply, this "chemical bomb" which sooner or later will explode just accumulates in warehouses.

But is the Novosibirskaya oblast really the most dangerous in regard to chemical contamination? How about Moldavia which has been stuffed with herbicides? And Podmoskovye, loaded with heavy metals, mercury and cadmium, lead and arsenic? And Central Asia, thoroughly saturated with nitrates and defoliants? I remember how the chairman of a large vegetable collective farm was brought to a hospital in Ashkhabad. He was poisoned by one of the melons from his own fields.

We have become accustomed to viewing this problem as a technical, economic or organizational one. Let's finally face the facts: this problem is political. And if society is not morally healthy, it cannot be physically healthy. During the decades of our lawlessness a caste of officials has been formed and taken root which is firmly convinced: "This beast will eat anything you put in his feed trough!" So they are still throwing things at us: radioactive tea, meat which has been subjected to radiation or some other kind of food product shot full of chemicals. And nobody is surprised anymore, it seems, that the state prefers to add the radiated meat to ground beef or sausage instead of destroying it. In short, it prefers to use tricks and loopholes in order to somehow feed it to the people. State and collective farms pump more and more chemicals into their fields. From year to year more and more people poison their bodies with huge doses of nitrates, pesticides and other "cides." It is a reliable and efficient conveyor: from the rows in the state farm to the "rows" in the cemetery.

Where is the solution? To open specialized stores where ecologically clean produce would be sold at higher prices? (A number of Western countries have experience with this and it appears to function well). But to me that seems amoral. That means that health is for the well-to-do portion of society and poisoning for the poor people? We forgot long ago that the main capital of any state is not its gold reserve, not its mineral resources or its military arsenal but the health of the nation. We have forgotten that a healthy citizen is a valuable worker, defender of the Motherland and parent of the next generation.

This kind of "forgetfulness" has already lead us to terrible statistics on disease and mortality rates (especially among children). And tomorrow? Will our grandchildren be deformed and become mutants because their

grandfathers allowed themselves to be turned into meek sheep crowding around the feed trough full of nutritious poison?

The children of the Earth are good-for-nothing. Having presumptuously added the word "sapiens" (wise) to the name of the human race, we are becoming increasingly dangerous inhabitants of this planet which we have mutilated. Remember how you loved to dance in puddles under a warm June downpour when you were a child? How you would drink from creeks in the forest and how there wasn't any better tasting water than that? Today we open a protective umbrella over our head with a shudder: what does the rain bring with it - acid, radiation?

This is not a voice of nostalgia for my childhood but a single thought: how to survive? But maybe it would be worth it for nature to brush us off the face of the earth - erase us like a first grader corrects a mistake in a dictation with an eraser, and once again begin the search for a life form which will be "sapiens" to a greater degree than we have been?

Fungicides, pesticides, herbicides, insecticides...In the same category is genocide. We are candidates to become victims of a new, chemical Chernobyl. We apparently are no longer frightened by statistics on contamination levels which exceed many times over the PDK - maximum allowable concentration, the boundary which separates the "possible" from the "impossible." We have had the occasion to be witnesses of how these ceilings of the allowable have been raised under the pressure of bureaucratic government. And only the cats refuse to respect the new "standards" and refuse to eat our sausage: a cat's intuition is more reliable than GOST [State All-Union Standard]. What can we do? Create a group of highly qualified experts completely independent of the will of the departments, answering only to the country's parliament, which would conduct an inventory of these BDK - infinite allowable concentrations? Today a cucumber or piece of boiled sausage from our dinner table is not simply a cucumber or sausage but factors...Risk factors. Weapons of mass destruction.

I step outside on a Spring day in Akademgorodok, jumping over a puddle, smiling at a squirrel flashing between naked birch branches like a red flame. But my tongue keeps tripping over words which won't go away: herbicides, pesticides, fungicides... A van boldly shoots past reflecting sunlight from the joyous puddles. On its white side is a blue sign: "Produce." Blue like the tea not long ago with sugar from Novosibirsk.

#### **Yaroslavl, Ivanovo Nuclear Projects Halted; Public Pressure Cited**

90W'N0099A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 May 90  
Second Edition p 8

[Article by Z. Bystrova: "Fact and Commentary: A Dissenting Opinion"]

[Text] More than once I have had occasion to be a participant in the emotional and fierce battles between city dwellers and the representatives of Minatomenorgo [Ministry of Atomic Energy and Industry], science and the departments. Often both sides lacked patience and convincing arguments. And what's more - trust.

Efforts of the Yaroslavl public were not in vain in blocking the questionable resoluteness of nuclear energy workers in their desire to brighten the lives of the ancient Russian city of almost a million inhabitants with an ATETs [Atomic Thermoelectric Plant]. Rumors were adrift that the construction design of a town near Yaroslavl for the nuclear energy workers was already being worked out and that geodesists had been parachuting into collective farm lands, conducting reconnaissance and brushing off questions of the inhabitants of the areas contemplated for Atomstroy [Atomic Energy Construction Association] construction projects.

No, the decision wasn't one which was made automatically, one that would be more acceptable to the people of Yaroslavl. Practically everyone in Yaroslavl feels involved in the decision reached by the CPSU obkom bureau and the oblast soviet ispolkom regarding the rejection of plans for the construction of an atomic thermoelectric plant in favor of using gas fuel as an energy source.

The population and the general public of the oblast support that decision. A public panel of experts voted in favor of it. The possibility of decreasing energy consumption was demonstrated competently - urbanization of the industrial oblast has been halted. Ways to cut losses in existing energy resources were noted and the possibility of providing a heat supply to a number of oblast cities through the construction of water-circulating thermoelectric plants was taken into account, something which PRAVDA once wrote about.

There is a second bit of encouraging news. It has to do with the Ivanovskaya oblast which is next to the Yaroslavskaya oblast. Here as well the general public defended its right to have a dissenting opinion. Its reasoning and ideas have been taken into consideration. A message arrived at the offices of the oblispolkom which we quote in its entirety: "The USSR Minatomenorgoprom, in accordance with the decision of the Ivanovo oblispolkom of 18 January 1990 No 21, has halted elaboration of the technical-economic justification for the construction of the Ivanovo ATETs. The "Atomenergoprojekt" institute has been instructed to cease field exploration work as of 15 February 1990."

No, it's not an unwillingness to understand, to realize, or to keep pace with the demands of the times that is behind all of this, but rather the sense of personal responsibility that has come of age and which is felt by each of us for everything that happens in our home.



### **Belorussian SSR Decree On Medical Services to Chernobyl Clean-Up Workers**

90UN18434 Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 29 Apr 90 pp 1, 2

[Decree of the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers and the Belorussian Republic Council of Trade Unions of April 28, 1990, No 105, Minsk: "On Measures to Improve Medical and Social Services for Persons Participating in Work to Eliminate the Effects of the Accident at the Chernobyl Nuclear Electric Power Station (AES)"]

[Text] In order to improve the medical and social services for persons participating in work to eliminate the effects of the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear electric power station (AES), and to implement the decree of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and the All-Union Central Council Trade Union (AUCCTU) of March 31, 1990, No. 325, the Council of Ministers of the Belorussian SSR and the Belorussian Republic Council of Trade Unions decree:

1. The Belorussian SSR Ministry of Public Health, the Red Banner Belorussian Military District, the Belorussian SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Belorussian SSR Committee for State Security and other ministries and agencies of the Belorussian SSR having medical institutions in their jurisdiction are to:

—organize in 1990 the medical examination of all persons participating in work to eliminate the effects of the accident at the Chernobyl AES within a 30-kilometer area (the relocation area) of this station, or engaged after the accident in operational and other work at this station (including those temporarily sent or assigned), including members of active and reserve military units called up for special duty to perform work related to eliminating the effects of this accident, regardless of where they were stationed and the work performed;

—and provide for continuous outpatient monitoring in the future of the health of such persons and, where necessary, their hospitalization.

2. To ensure the systematic medical examination of persons participating in work to eliminate the effects of the accident at the Chernobyl AES exposed to radiation, the Belorussian SSR Ministry of Public Health is to organize a single state directory of such persons (State Register) based on a republic distributed register.

The Red Banner Belorussian Military District, Belorussian SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, Belorussian SSR Committee for State Security and other ministries and agencies are to update agency registers or lists of persons exposed to radiation, and transmit in the first half of 1990 to the Belorussian SSR Ministry of Public Health for inclusion in the State Register the necessary information on such persons, including the periods of their work, irradiation dosages and medical test results.

The Belorussian SSR Ministry of Public Health shall submit questions requiring a decision of the Belorussian SSR government to the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers.

3. A republic interagency expert council shall be created in the Scientific Research Institute on Radiation Medicine of the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers to establish the causal relation between illness or disability and the performance of work to eliminate the effects of the accident at the Chernobyl AES. The Belorussian SSR deputy minister of Public Health shall be appointed chairman of this expert commission.

4. The membership shall be determined of the republic interagency expert council to establish the causal relation between illness or disability and the performance of work to eliminate the effects of the accident at the Chernobyl AES in accordance with annex 1.

The conclusions of this expert council, as well as of military medical commissions, shall form the basis for agencies and institutions of public health, social services and trade union organizations in determining the fitness for work and the degree of loss of such fitness by persons performing work to eliminate the effects of the accident at the Chernobyl AES.

In the event of differences of opinion which may occur in preparing expert conclusions, materials for review shall be sent to the Central Interagency Expert Council to Establish the Causal Relation Between Illness or Disability and the Performance of Work to Eliminate the Effects of the Accident at the Chernobyl AES (Kiev).

5. The Belorussian SSR State Planning Committee, Belorussian Rural Construction Agency, and Belorussian SSR Ministry of Public Health are to include in their 1991-1992 plans the construction of a 150-bed children's facility in the village of Aksakovshchina.

6. The following benefits are to be extended to persons suffering from radiation sickness as a result of the accident at the Chernobyl AES and from performing work to eliminate its effects, as well as persons specified in article 1 of this decree, for whom a causal relation is established of illness or disability from this accident and from performing work to eliminate its effects:

6.1. the right to obtain medicine (prescribed by a doctor) free of charge; annual treatment in a sanatorium or health resort; priority purchase of a "Zaporozhets" automobile with manual control upon presenting the appropriate medical test results; transportation (except by taxi) from place of residence to place of medical treatment or dispensary, outpatient or clinical testing and back, as well as transportation on all types of urban passenger transport (except for taxis) and on public use automobile transport (except for taxis) in rural areas within the administrative district of the person's place of residence; the right to noncompetitive entry into higher and middle special educational institutions, and priority

in entering professional technical educational institutions and courses of study of the corresponding professions;

6.2. payment to working disabled persons of temporary disability compensation for up to four months in a row or up to five months in a calendar year;

6.3. payment to working disabled persons and persons suffering from an illness related to the performance of work to eliminate the effects of the accident at the Chernobyl AES in case of transfer to a lower paying, average wage job in cases where the worker's health prohibits performance of the previous work;

6.4. the right to priority allocation of housing for those needing better living conditions, but not later than one year from the day they apply (including the families of persons who are killed or die a natural death);

6.5. payment for housing (within the standards determined by legislation in effect) occupied by such persons and by members of their family residing with them, as well as by families receiving a pension due to the loss of the family breadwinner as a result of the accident at the Chernobyl AES, in the amount of 50 percent of the rent established by rates set for industrial, office and professional workers.

Such persons, as well as families receiving pensions due to the loss of the family breadwinner as a result of the accident at the Chernobyl AES, shall receive a 50 percent reduction from the established rate for heating, water, gas and electricity; those living in housing without central heating shall receive a 50 percent reduction on the cost of fuel obtained within the standards set for sale to the public.

The above benefits are extended to the families of citizens who perish or die a natural death;

6.6. priority service in preventive care facilities and pharmacies;

6.7. the right to use polyclinics after retirement to which such persons were assigned while working;

6.8. the right to take scheduled annual leave at a time convenient to them, and to receive additional unpaid leave for up to two weeks per year;

6.9. payment to working disabled persons of temporary disability compensation amounting to 100 percent of their wage regardless of their continuous length of service;

6.10. priority access to preschool facilities;

6.11. priority in receiving a telephone;

6.12. preference in retaining one's job when professional or industrial personnel are reduced;

6.13. preference in the right to join housing construction cooperatives, cooperatives for the construction and

operation of collective garages and parking lots for vehicles and their servicing, gardening associations (with their approval), and to obtain gardening sheds or materials for their construction, industrial goods in high demand, including passenger automobiles, motorcycles and motorboats; priority service in institutions and enterprises and in organizations for communications, household services, public catering, public utilities and intercity transport;

6.14. the right to obtain interest-free loans to members of gardening associations to purchase or build gardening sheds and maintain garden plots;

6.15. the right to obtain interest-free loans for personal housing construction.

7. Persons specified in article 1 of this decree who participated in work to eliminate the effects of the accident at the Chernobyl AES from 1986-1987 shall receive the following benefits:

7.1. the right to a 50 percent reduction in the cost of medicines obtained by doctor's prescription;

7.2. priority in obtaining passes for health and recreation facilities at one's place of employment;

7.3. priority in obtaining housing for those needing better housing conditions. The benefits specified in subparagraphs 6.6-6.15 of article 6 of this decree shall be extended to the persons specified in this article.

8. The persons specified in articles 6 and 7 of this decree shall be exempt from paying the taxes on unmarried persons, single persons and families with few children.

9. Disabled persons whose disability is related to the accident at the Chernobyl AES and to performance of work on eliminating its effects shall receive a supplement to their pension in the following amounts: group I disabled persons—70 rubles; group II disabled persons—50 rubles; group III disabled persons—30 rubles.

10. The following benefits are extended to persons specified in article 1 of this decree who in 1988 participated in work to eliminate the effects of the accident at the Chernobyl AES within a 30-kilometer area (the evacuation area) of the station, as well as those engaged in operational and other work at the station:

10.1. priority in obtaining passes for health and recreation facilities at one's place of employment;

10.2. the right to use regular annual leave at a time convenient to them;

10.3. priority in joining housing and garage construction cooperatives and gardening associations (with their consent).

The benefits specified by subparagraphs 6.6, 6.7 and 6.10 of article 6 of this decree shall be extended to the persons specified in this article.

11. Persons specified in articles 1, 6, 7 and 10 of this decree shall be issued a certificate that they participated in eliminating the effects of the accident at the Chernobyl AES, which confirms their right to the specified benefits, and a badge. The form of such a certificate and of the badge shall be determined by the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Affairs with the agreement of relevant agencies.

The certificates and badges shall be issued by the ministries and agencies of the Belorussian SSR, executive committees of oblast Councils of People's Deputies, military districts and social service agencies.

12. Commissions shall be formed in the executive committees of rayon, city, city district and oblast Councils of People's Deputies comprised of deputies, representatives of the public and of military districts and participants in eliminating the effects of the accident at the Chernobyl AES to investigate the living conditions of participants in eliminating the effects of the accident at this power plant and assisting such persons in meeting their social and everyday needs.

Such commissions shall be instructed to examine within two months the living conditions of each participant in eliminating the effects of the accident at the Chernobyl AES and their families and their receipt of the benefits and advantages to which they are entitled, and to assist them in meeting their social and everyday needs.

13. It is noted that article 8 of the decree of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and the All-Union Central Council Trade Union (AUCCTU) of March 31, 1990, No. 325, instructs the USSR State Planning Committee and USSR Ministry of Finance to determine the resources for meeting the expenses connected with providing the benefits specified in this decree.

The Belorussian SSR State Planning Committee and Belorussian SSR Ministry of Finances are to determine the resources for meeting the expenses of extending the additional benefits specified by this decree.

14. It is recommended to the ministries and agencies of the Belorussian SSR, executive committees of local Councils of People's Deputies and trade union organizations to undertake additional measures, within their areas of competence, to provide foodstuffs and improve the living conditions and medical and commercial services of persons participating in eliminating the effects of the accident at the Chernobyl AES.

15. The benefits specified by this decree shall go into effect as of May 1, 1990.

V. Kebich, chairman,  
Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers  
V. Goncharik, chairman,  
Belorussian Republic Council of Trade Unions

### Courses on Dosimeter Use Offered in Kiev

90UN1843B Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian  
29 Apr 90 p 4

[Article by B. Matviyenko: "Dosimetry Courses"]

[Text] Dosimetry courses began for the public in Kiev on April 26, the fourth anniversary of the Chernobyl tragedy, at the Institute for Raising Qualifications of the Ukrainian SSR Gosagroprom.

The first lesson was given on household dosimeters for the public. Residents of the Zhitomir, Chernigov and Kiev oblasts attended in addition to Kievans. The classes were given by candidate of technical sciences V. F. Avseyenko, who in 1986 actively participated in work to eliminate the effects of the accident at the Chernobyl power plant.

Course participants were introduced to various dosimeters and radiometers, their purpose, specifications and principles of operation, and learned the cost of such devices and the addresses of stores where they can be obtained. In addition, recommendations were given on deactivating everyday objects in case of contamination.

The institute in the future will conduct regular consultations and check foodstuffs for contamination by radionuclides, nitrates, pesticides and heavy metal salts. Information can be obtained daily during working hours from the radiology and chemistry laboratories of the institute at Kiev-55, ul. Shulyavskaya, 22/24 (next to the "Politechnical Institute" metro station). Telephone 271-00-86.

Regular classes on dosimetry (three-day courses) will be given after May 25, 1990. Registration may be done by telephone: 271-00-86, 293-31-94.

### Sverdlovsk Forms Chernobyl Union Chapter

90UN2198D Moscow POISK in Russian No 20,  
18-24 May 90 p 6

[Lidiya Usacheva report: "We Shall Help You Ourselves"]

[Text] Sverdlovsk—This is what was decided by the people of Sverdlovsk who took part in the cleanup following the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power station, who have united in a "Chernobyl" alliance in Sverdlovsk Oblast.

The impetus for creating the new public formation was last year's hunger strike by eight "Chernobyl people" who were dissatisfied with treatment in one of the city's hospitals.

"Earlier," Vladimir Dyemin of the "Chernobyl" alliance told us, "each of us had worked on the cleanup after the accident and had himself tried to resolve his own health problems, but essentially just had one ailment after another."

The forced measures attracted the attention of officials to the needs of the "Chernobyl people." And as a result the Sverdlovsk oblast executive committee was almost the first in the country to make provision, without waiting for any government resolution, for a set of benefits for "cleanup people" that included the creation of a medical rehabilitation center, priority allocation of housing and places in children's preschool establishments, and the provision of passes for sanatoria and resorts, and so forth. But the activity of the alliance is not restricted to help for victims. It is written into its charter that it will do everything possible to prevent any repetition of the Chernobyl tragedy—wage propaganda about radiation safety for the population, organize expert inspections of atomic projects, and insure extensive publicity.

Today, throughout the country there are more than 50 such alliances in the various regions. Their cooperation in finding solutions for common problems is one of the tasks facing the first Congress of the All-Union Voluntary Public "Chernobyl" Alliance that will open on 14 June in Kiev.

#### **Ryzhkov Interviewed on Chernobyl Aftermath**

90UN1746A Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 26 Apr 90 p 3

[Report on interview with N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, by N. Batalova and Sh. Muladzhanov, MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA parliamentary correspondents; in Moscow date not given: "Chernobyl: Tragedy and Lesson"]

[Text] **Thinking back to the April disaster of 1986, we say: This must not be repeated. The aftereffects of the disaster will linger on for a long time yet as a heavy social, economic, and psychological burden of society.**

Those April reports stabbed us in our hearts. The documentary of the tragedy that appeared on TV screens had a scope which we could not even comprehend right away. It was all the more difficult because the information was late, from force of habit, and it distorted the unprecedented dimensions of the event. Doctors insisted that the incident was of a localized character and of a limited effect on the people's health. Experts on nuclear energy refused to comment on the events and we could only guess by the totally exhausted look on their faces and their empty stares, by their appeals for an immediate inspection of all the AES's [nuclear electric power stations] in the country that the scientists knew the real meaning of what the others in the country would not know for quite a while yet. Western broadcasts spoke of clouds of radiation but Belorussian children went swimming in their favorite streams on hot summer days. The gloomy forecasts of Japanese radiologists seemed to be near panic. And they do have that experience

But the curtain finally dropped and we learned about the death of the heroes, about the negligence of the people who caused the tragedy, and about the unselfishness of

thousands of people who came to clean up after the disaster. We also learned about the tragedy of dozens of thousands of people who never left the areas hazardous to life and health.

"You know, today I still would like to start by remembering what happened right after the disaster at the Chernobyl AES," USSR Council of Ministers Chairman Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov told us as he was answering our questions between sessions of the USSR Supreme Soviet yesterday. "I want to do it because these days, as we conduct heated discussions, we seem to have forgotten about the people who worked there in mortal danger. And this is immoral. It was a real heroic deed just to be there, to make decisions, not to speak of the physical execution of the necessary actions. We cannot and we must not forget about the scientists, the firemen, the doctors, the transportation workers—all those who tried to contain the terrible danger.

But neither can we forget about those who are still living in the huge contaminated areas. And the problem is not just the estimated 16 billion rubles [R] we need to be able to apply the government program of eliminating the aftereffects of the disaster. We have to consider the social and psychological aspects of the accident."

[Batalova, Muladzhanov] Everybody knows that destabilizing processes are taking place now in our country; in economics as well as in interethnic relations. How will all this affect the realization of the Chernobyl program?

[Ryzhkov] Again I will start in the past. The tragedy of 1986 united our people, it brought them together. The most complicated problems were resolved in no time. Any order from the "Chernobyl zone" was completed in the shortest time possible by the enterprises or organizations of any part of our country.

And what would happen if the current separatist trends continue to develop? If some disaster strikes—how will we cope with it? Where will we find the R9 billion that we have already spent on Chernobyl and R16 billion more for future expenditures? Let me remind you that R16 billion is the exact figure of the annual revenue growth for our entire country. You can ask those questions based on things other than this particular disaster. Did the entire country not rush to help Armenia after the earthquake there, for instance? Unfortunately, tragic moments in history are unavoidable. And I am convinced that we have to strengthen our federation and our Union. Only then we will be able to work efficiently under normal conditions and resolve the most intricate problems in emergencies.

[Batalova, Muladzhanov] What are the general principles of the program on the elimination of the aftermath of the disaster in Chernobyl?

[Ryzhkov] This program was designed in close cooperation with the leadership and experts of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], the Ukraine, and Belorussia. It consists of two parts. The



first part is planned for three years; it is a concrete plan with financial backing and should be implemented immediately. The second part is a perspective, a concept of further actions to eliminate the disaster aftereffects. And this is where I have to say that unfortunately the scientists are failing us. We still do not have the exact recommendations and conclusions of the scientists on a large number of most important problems. And we cannot establish the maximum radiation doses at rallies or by voting.

The problem of contaminated areas is quite crucial at present. We thoroughly analyzed it at the last meeting of our Council of Ministers Presidium. We planned some measures which should be carried out before the end of this year. I categorically demanded the involvement of international experts and specialists from different countries—all the best forces in the world—in the design of the concept of future actions in this direction.

[Batalova, Muladzhanov] You talked about honoring the memory of Chernobyl heroes, those who managed to contain the disaster and to save many thousands of lives. In what ways do you think we can honor their memory?

[Ryzhkov] I do not want to use platitudes. Let us look at just one concrete issue. As you know, the firemen who died during the Chernobyl cleanup effort are buried in the Mitinskoye cemetery. There are tombstones and flowers there. But there definitely should also be a memorial complex. The Moscow Soviet adopted a decision to that effect some time past. But nothing was done about it. I think this problem should be resolved by the new Moscow Soviet among many other problems. I understand that there are financial difficulties, but maybe the construction of such a complex could become an act of charity.

[Batalova, Muladzhanov] We are sure that all our readers as well as all Muscovites will support the idea. But for now we would like to look at the lessons of Chernobyl in the light of Moscow concerns. There are institutes that work with isotopes, for instance; there are major enterprises in Moscow and our city of nine million needs to have permanent radiation control.

[Ryzhkov] Let me emphasize right away that the radiation situation in Moscow is under a permanent control and, according to the data, it is quite normal now. But that does not mean we can rest easy in connection with the problem you mentioned. We all know that the people in those institutes are not always careful enough and do not always take all safety precautions. We do need to have strict control, and not just general control but also over every area and every potential contamination source.

But neither can we forget about the psychological aspect of the problem. The Chernobyl disaster brought about a sort of syndrome which is going to stay in people's minds for a long time yet. And we have to take this into consideration when we talk about the future of nuclear power and about other problems. I understand perfectly

well the emotions of those people who speak against the construction of nuclear power stations. But can we do without them in future? I do not think so. But it is another matter that we have to ensure their safety on a different, much higher level. We have to increase our cooperation with France, the FRG, and other countries where much has been done to automate the process control at the AES and to prevent any possibility of an accident. It is easier to develop the safety systems than to do the cleanup after an accident, even if it is less tragic than the Chernobyl one.

[Batalova, Muladzhanov] This accident, by the way, became an incentive for the development of international cooperation; or, to be more precise, our experts became much more involved in it. It is well known what an active part the representatives of the IAEA [International Atomic Energy Agency] took in the solution of a number of problems. Might it be reasonable to set up an international center in Moscow or in Kiev, for instance, which would provide treatment for the Chernobyl victims as well as develop new methods of fighting the radiation aftereffects?

[Ryzhkov] I would support anything that can enable us to help the people.

We want to remind you that our conversation took place during a break between parliament sessions. The deputies honored the memory of Chernobyl victims with a moment of silence. And during the debate, after a realistic and detailed discussion of every item, they approved the state program of urgent measures for 1990-92. The program was presented by the Council of Ministers and it serves as the first stage of a long-term program aimed to eliminate the aftermath of the explosion that happened exactly four years ago.

#### Progress Report on Chernobyl Resettlement

90UN1664A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian  
1 Apr 90 p 2

[Article by A. Sokol under the rubric "Echo of Chernobyl": "Resettlement Underway"]

[Text] Kiev—The situation in the areas of the country contaminated by radiation are far more serious than many people imagined, and a long period of time is involved. Last year the USSR Council of Ministers decided to resettle all populated areas in cases where it was impossible to guarantee safe residence. The resettlement was supposed to continue until 1993. The government of the republic prepared itself to speed up the work—to complete it in 1990. No time was wasted in moving the inhabitants of the regional centers of Poleskoye and Narodichi to areas around Kiev and Zhitomir, respectively, as well as the village of Vilcha outside Kiev. Their average "contamination" does not require emergency resettlement, but there are some very contaminated spots. The opportunity for priority departure is granted to families who are in greater need of it than others.

For the most part, those who are being moved "settle" in those districts where they already lived—around Zhitomir and Kiev. But in "clean" areas. Rural homes are built for the peasants, and city apartments for residents of towns. Everything possible is being done not to disturb their usual way of life. But it is not easy to do that: About 15,000 people are being moved.

The work will be tremendous, no less so because it is above and beyond the usual work, and it must be carried out in the shortest possible time. Landscaping and sidewalks are being left for September. Roads and lines for water, gas, electricity, and telephones, and of course stores and a hospital—everything necessary for life—are needed in addition to housing. Just as after the disaster, the whole republic has pitched in on the construction. Subunits of the Ministry of Construction and Ukragrostroy [Ukrainian Agricultural Construction Firm] are directly involved.

The Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers held a conference of the leaders of ministries and departments taking part in this work and the Kiev and Zhitomir oblispolkoms [oblast soviet executive committees]. The discussion dealt with what has been done, what problems exist, and how to resolve them.

It was not comfortable for G. Gordeychuk, first deputy minister of construction of the Ukrainian SSR, at the tribune. The organizations of that department are not expediting the work and are not especially concerned about it either. Their leader did not understand that it is not a question of "supplementary housing" but of human misfortune. G. Gordeychuk evaluated the situation irresponsibly as well. He was only concerned about one thing: to justify himself at any price, at times by calling black white. It was pointed out to the first deputy minister that decisions on cadre issues were coming up and that the new staff of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet would be demanding.

The rural construction people look better at the start. They often did not wait until the draft documentation was completely finished and excavated the foundations without it. V. Chernenko, deputy chairman of Ukragrostroy, reported that 18 oblast agricultural firms and three elevator trusts had been switched over to the work. Work on the walls was underway alongside the laying of foundations. More than 20 "shells" have already been prepared. The greatest possible number of people will be working at the construction sites—about 7,000 people. And yet the scale of work is not what is required. It was noted that the Kharkov subunit has been functioning powerfully and with organization right from the start, but the Lvov subunit is working poorly and wasting time. The Odessa association is biding its time. And a common effort is needed.

The "traditional" lack of coordination has begun at many of the construction sites. Idle time is already occurring because of lack of organization and non-supply of materials. The leaders of the Zhitomir oblispolkom

cannot solve the problems of sand and crushed stone even though there are great numbers of quarries. The construction people do not have direct communications—either with the centers of the oblast in which they are working, or with the "home"; that is to say, their own material and technical base.

The local leaders are not showing concern for the construction people. And living in the field is difficult. Most of the complaints concern food. Ukoopcoyuz [Ukrainian Cooperative Union] is not taking advantage of the experience gained after the disaster when a "kitchen" was sent along with the construction people from each oblast. N. Lavrik, deputy chairman of the republic's consumer cooperative, required prompting. Incidentally, a week later a meeting was set for him at the Council of Ministers concerning this issue.

V. Budko, first secretary of the Narodichskiy Rayon Party Committee and Ukrainian SSR people's deputy, made a request to those listening that was unusual for such a conference. It was brief—to take into account as far as possible the wishes of those being resettled and not "scatter" relatives. Attention was focused on the quality of the housing being built. The housing will for the most part be passed by an exacting inspector—the tenant himself. The idea of taking future tenants into the brigade equipping the home as construction people was approved.

As K. Masik, deputy chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers noted, the situation of those being resettled is difficult—it is not only a question of their moral condition but of their health as well. The people are rushing to the "clean" areas and waiting for homes. It is necessary to help them, to use every reserve and every possibility. Resettlement problems, it was said, must be written on the heart.

#### **Leaky Valve in Chernobyl Unit 2 Repaired**

90UN1702A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian  
15 Apr 90 p 3

[Article by PRAVDA UKRAINY correspondent A. Sokol: "Public 'Inspection' at Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant"]

[Text] Last Friday the telephones at Chernobyl were ringing off the hook. People—officials and non-officials—were inquiring with alarm: "Is it true there was an accident in Unit 2? And that a discharge took place?"

Many frightened people in the city of Korosten, in the Zhitomir region, left their work and went out into the square. The official information given failed to satisfy them and they sent a delegation of 32 individuals to Chernobyl.

The public "inspectors" arrived unimpeded at the nuclear power plant. V. Grishchenko, the plant's deputy chief engineer, explained the cause of the stoppage in

Power Unit 2: A leak developed in one of the reservoir shutoff valves through which water is supplied to the reactor's production channels. In prior instances of this sort, work was not stopped. These days we look for insurance.

Those who arrived were invited to take a look at the unit themselves. But since it was already late, they declined to do so and decided just to travel around the "sarcophagus."

The incident is over. But how much had to be endured—and all because we are too eager today to give credence to rumors.

**While this issue was being typeset, Yu. Malinin, Unit 2 shift chief, informed us that "the seal has been replaced, everything is bolted up, and the leak is repaired."**

**Results of 1989 All-Union Census**

90UN20474 Moscow VESTNIK STATISTIKI in Russian No 5, May 90 pp 63-79

[Report: "1989 All-Union Census"]

[Text]

**Table 1. Number of Males and Females by Union Republic**

Republic	Total Population, in thousands	Including, in thousands		In Percentage of Total Population	
		Males	Females	Males	Females
USSR	286,731	135,361	151,370	47	53
Urban population	188,814	88,725	100,089	47	53
Rural population	97,917	46,636	51,281	48	52
RSFSR	147,400	69,039	78,361	47	53
Urban population	108,425	50,627	57,798	47	53
Rural population	38,975	18,412	20,563	47	53
Ukrainian SSR	51,707	23,908	27,799	46	54
Urban population	34,588	16,143	18,445	47	53
Rural population	17,119	7,765	9,354	45	55
Belorussian SSR	10,200	4,776	5,424	47	53
Urban population	6,679	3,150	3,529	47	53
Rural population	3,521	1,626	1,895	46	54
Uzbek SSR	19,905	9,823	10,082	49	51
Urban population	8,111	3,969	4,142	49	51
Rural population	11,794	5,854	5,940	50	50
Kazakh SSR	16,536	8,013	8,523	48	52
Urban population	9,465	4,511	4,954	48	52
Rural population	7,071	3,502	3,569	50	50
Georgian SSR	5,443	2,581	2,862	47	53
Urban population	3,036	1,420	1,616	47	53
Rural population	2,407	1,161	1,246	48	52
Azerbaijan SSR	7,038	3,435	3,603	49	51
Urban population	3,790	1,864	1,926	49	51
Rural population	3,248	1,571	1,677	48	52
Lithuanian SSR	3,690	1,747	1,943	47	53
Urban population	2,509	1,183	1,326	47	53
Rural population	1,181	564	617	48	52
Moldavian SSR	4,338	2,058	2,280	47	53
Urban population	2,037	976	1,061	48	52
Rural population	2,301	1,082	1,219	47	53
Latvian SSR	2,680	1,247	1,433	47	53
Urban population	1,906	879	1,027	46	54
Rural population	774	368	406	48	52
Kirghiz SSR	4,290	2,094	2,196	49	51
Urban population	1,641	779	862	47	53
Rural population	2,649	1,315	1,334	50	50
Tajik SSR	5,109	2,538	2,571	50	50



[illegible]

Table 2. Distribution of Males and Females According to Marital Status and Age by Union Republic (Continued)

Republic and Age Groups	Males						Females					
	Total	Including					Total	Including				
		Married	Never Married	Widower	Divorced or Separated	Marital Status not Indicated		Married	Never Married	Widow	Divorced or Separated	Marital Status not Indicated
Total population age 16 and older	50,425,236	36,224,573	9,881,868	1,269,979	2,847,734	201,082	60,601,526	36,252,644	7,976,573	11,025,260	5,128,823	218,226
Including ages												
16-17	2,058,911	22,027	2,035,837	460	587	-	1,993,750	74,662	1,915,818	1,583	1,687	-
18-19	2,040,682	98,475	1,914,319	361	1,993	25,534	1,863,302	428,814	1,396,903	2,026	12,836	22,723
20-24	49,559,083	1,888,051	2,950,251	2,472	72,350	42,859	4,798,637	2,964,858	1,609,473	13,963	181,528	28,815
25-29	6,373,602	4,725,552	1,326,377	7,298	282,953	31,422	6,183,633	4,934,516	743,104	41,397	440,785	23,831
30-34	6,472,859	5,313,443	678,925	15,086	448,903	16,502	6,389,950	5,252,415	443,923	83,662	597,303	12,647
35-39	5,821,314	4,888,416	397,363	25,533	497,629	12,373	5,862,787	4,714,340	312,641	145,053	681,131	9,622
40-44	3,775,687	3,191,026	179,126	29,498	365,940	10,097	3,886,934	3,000,333	176,033	167,709	534,239	8,620
45-49	3,767,156	3,189,902	140,559	61,963	366,865	7,867	4,187,744	3,087,190	148,033	353,266	591,792	7,463
50-54	4,453,975	3,843,365	115,355	113,232	371,075	10,948	5,139,558	3,636,686	171,310	657,121	662,207	12,234
55-59	3,719,890	3,272,100	62,993	154,091	222,997	7,709	4,679,269	2,976,219	197,182	1,003,244	490,721	11,903
60-64	3,239,655	2,844,388	39,309	210,171	136,896	8,891	5,120,406	2,723,031	291,521	1,628,588	460,786	16,480
65-69	1,367,725	1,179,770	15,088	127,647	39,669	5,551	3,142,487	1,253,614	222,457	1,429,831	223,754	12,831
70 and over	2,338,552	1,750,406	20,141	521,424	37,950	8,631	7,307,457	1,186,413	343,289	5,492,092	246,869	38,794
Age not indicated	39,245	17,652	6,225	743	1,927	12,698	45,612	19,553	4,886	5,725	3,185	12,263
Ukrainian SSR												
Total population age 16 and older	17,724,700	13,175,004	3,139,706	539,499	826,850	43,641	21,899,058	13,270,049	2,616,414	4,227,370	1,737,240	47,985
Including ages												
16-17	764,172	6,220	757,654	139	159	-	724,268	31,906	691,090	532	740	-
18-19	671,475	30,486	633,288	101	639	6,961	662,537	172,260	478,178	657	6,001	5,441
20-24	1,684,586	665,656	982,635	750	25,170	10,375	1,667,830	1,098,065	488,536	4,456	70,865	5,908
25-29	1,969,636	1,524,267	349,244	2,138	87,037	6,950	1,987,479	1,626,689	193,124	11,954	150,155	5,557
30-34	1,924,229	1,635,941	159,131	4,039	122,065	3,053	1,974,777	1,653,434	107,892	22,833	188,087	2,531
35-39	1,826,408	1,502,941	92,868	7,149	134,164	2,286	1,915,840	1,576,350	76,752	42,849	217,86	2,021
40-44	1,295,603	1,136,364	45,231	9,379	102,500	2,129	1,411,475	1,125,202	47,994	58,859	177,372	2,048
45-49	1,504,042	1,326,074	40,793	21,337	114,238	1,600	1,716,580	1,312,271	54,684	133,528	214,425	1,672
50-54	1,725,609	1,542,467	33,106	38,798	109,287	1,951	1,978,733	1,440,249	72,352	235,303	288,457	2,372
55-59	1,316,274	1,189,242	16,961	50,022	58,549	1,500	1,639,270	1,069,351	83,565	331,172	152,796	2,386
60-64	1,274,947	1,138,594	13,003	78,663	42,840	1,847	1,958,165	1,079,224	118,859	594,324	161,957	3,801
65-69	663,602	579,947	6,593	60,399	15,416	1,247	1,356,788	569,611	88,650	610,535	84,819	3,173
70 and over	1,100,806	808,501	8,774	266,537	14,684	2,310	2,901,738	514,048	114,439	2,180,037	83,470	9,744

Table 2. Distribution of Males and Females According to Marital Status and Age by Union Republic (Continued)

Republic and Age Groups	Males						Females					
	Total	Including					Total	Including				
		Married	Never Married	Widower	Divorced or Separated	Marital Status not Indicated		Married	Never Married	Widow	Divorced or Separated	Marital Status not Indicated
Age not indicated	3,311	1,304	425	48	102	1,432	3,578	1,389	299	331	228	1,331
Belorussian SSR												
Total population age 16 and older	3,484,816	2,567,193	683,510	91,971	136,172	5,970	4,184,419	2,582,806	591,812	738,587	265,030	6,187
Including ages:												
16-17	149,861	921	148,899	23	18	-	144,422	3,008	141,307	61	46	-
18-19	131,842	4,427	126,309	16	47	1,043	135,237	24,634	109,210	98	529	766
20-24	349,926	131,650	213,386	117	3,383	1,390	356,011	217,931	127,061	706	9,575	738
25-29	431,961	329,810	87,188	349	13,699	915	425,230	348,446	50,172	2,173	23,856	583
30-34	419,103	353,733	43,284	766	20,861	459	417,940	355,139	26,696	4,315	31,512	278
35-39	360,725	312,192	24,549	1,271	22,420	293	364,831	304,833	16,938	7,686	35,191	183
40-44	258,721	225,779	12,427	1,815	18,409	291	267,183	215,804	9,759	11,082	30,298	240
45-49	258,354	226,880	9,321	3,668	18,296	189	281,536	218,026	9,274	22,481	31,566	189
50-54	301,024	268,987	7,361	6,885	17,462	329	353,194	262,633	13,814	42,330	34,080	337
55-59	277,965	252,479	4,500	10,004	10,752	230	350,273	237,695	19,552	66,869	25,775	382
60-64	227,638	206,119	2,700	12,221	6,303	295	352,686	201,787	25,130	102,864	22,371	534
65-69	121,764	108,243	1,425	9,511	2,404	181	237,485	103,986	18,336	103,432	11,304	427
70 and over	195,852	145,950	2,148	45,324	2,115	315	498,312	88,866	24,558	374,485	8,925	1,478
Age not indicated	80	23	13	1	3	40	79	18	5	5	2	49
Uzbek SSR												
Total population age 16 and older	5,481,934	3,795,013	1,407,976	119,504	97,336	62,105	5,821,000	3,825,054	1,024,884	670,786	235,548	64,728
Including ages:												
16-17	412,897	2,949	409,647	229	72	-	410,347	11,763	397,988	376	220	-
18-19	376,194	8,783	357,739	158	129	9,385	381,360	93,900	272,128	552	2,126	12,654
20-24	910,718	367,413	509,921	1,344	7,033	25,007	921,744	638,168	238,302	4,050	24,408	16,816
25-29	890,752	775,797	83,308	2,511	18,405	10,731	894,658	771,843	61,915	9,162	42,194	9,544
30-34	691,145	651,507	21,682	2,517	16,832	3,607	696,518	616,445	22,475	13,774	40,398	3,426
35-39	503,602	473,757	10,160	2,677	14,986	2,022	509,767	445,412	10,125	18,489	33,983	1,758
40-44	286,366	268,945	3,999	2,694	9,675	1,053	286,009	243,001	4,083	17,482	20,430	1,013
45-49	317,673	297,831	3,349	5,805	9,667	1,021	307,858	253,067	3,078	30,980	19,696	1,037
50-54	322,719	297,961	2,679	11,348	8,994	1,737	328,331	255,563	2,905	48,949	19,065	1,037
55-59	265,666	241,005	1,921	15,687	5,527	1,526	295,692	210,419	2,869	67,725	12,596	2,083
60-64	215,661	189,922	1,132	18,946	3,429	2,232	268,032	149,514	2,978	101,748	10,377	3,415

Table 2. Distribution of Males and Females According to Marital Status and Age by Union Republic (Continued)

Republic and Age Groups	Males						Females					
	Total	Including					Total	Including				
		Married	Never Married	Widower	Divorced or Separated	Marital Status not Indicated		Married	Never Married	Widow	Divorced or Separated	Marital Status not Indicated
65-69	97,157	81,695	1,097	11,689	1,140	1,536	172,472	70,153	2,475	92,056	4,768	3,020
70 and over	186,213	137,403	1,291	43,899	1,446	2,174	348,022	65,752	3,523	265,434	5,281	8,032
Age not indicated	171	45	51	-	1	74	190	54	40	9	6	81
Kazakh SSR												
Total population age 16 and older	5,164,953	3,553,276	1,294,556	112,666	184,117	20,338	5,748,314	3,565,696	955,253	841,928	363,757	21,680
Including ages												
16-17	297,858	1,881	295,889	57	31	-	291,560	7,852	283,421	134	153	-
18-19	294,633	8,649	282,290	38	141	3,515	256,437	51,956	199,837	193	1,598	2,853
20-24	680,585	230,272	437,401	417	7,005	5,490	665,661	393,842	244,529	1,930	21,615	3,745
25-29	773,165	585,249	158,987	1,057	24,629	3,243	770,710	613,883	101,339	5,863	47,016	2,609
30-34	680,781	587,092	58,579	1,798	32,031	1,281	682,914	569,884	47,087	10,929	53,848	1,166
35-39	556,535	494,294	27,170	2,601	31,699	771	573,227	475,103	25,369	18,153	53,932	670
40-44	341,366	305,440	10,991	3,021	21,317	606	356,071	287,373	10,996	20,367	36,777	558
45-49	357,393	319,228	8,761	6,830	22,141	433	393,795	304,286	7,497	42,128	39,380	504
50-54	399,646	358,010	6,748	12,326	21,856	706	436,796	318,073	7,398	69,940	40,554	831
55-59	269,876	241,162	3,104	13,720	11,402	488	316,263	202,785	6,529	80,658	25,481	810
60-64	234,988	206,617	1,822	18,393	7,451	705	357,476	188,553	8,743	134,326	24,464	1,390
65-69	101,258	86,460	785	11,215	2,278	520	204,569	79,135	5,429	108,943	9,905	1,157
70 and over	171,647	126,823	990	41,120	1,987	727	437,097	70,523	6,409	347,793	8,785	3,587
Age not indicated	5,222	2,099	1,039	82	149	1,853	5,738	2,448	670	571	249	1,800
Georgian SSR												
Total population age 16 and older	1,836,779	1,284,188	456,229	50,999	27,613	17,750	2,141,098	1,304,904	373,331	357,113	88,269	17,481
Including ages												
16-17	82,934	1,655	82,206	44	29	-	81,691	5,976	75,429	154	132	-
18-19	90,859	4,227	84,329	38	55	2,210	78,293	20,441	54,915	192	467	2,278
20-24	203,373	55,189	142,494	184	952	4,554	210,351	116,115	85,595	1,005	4,223	3,413
25-29	226,171	141,371	78,564	379	2,904	2,953	241,474	177,022	50,385	2,385	9,205	2,477
30-34	201,288	163,299	31,743	610	3,947	1,689	215,559	171,071	26,901	4,423	11,664	1,500
35-39	174,508	153,540	15,140	722	4,018	1,088	187,878	151,208	17,011	6,592	12,114	953
40-44	124,662	113,259	6,425	962	3,190	826	136,366	108,363	9,993	8,030	9,281	699
45-49	138,999	128,328	4,778	1,889	3,362	642	157,575	122,849	9,448	14,815	9,853	610
50-54	163,876	152,150	3,822	3,498	3,580	826	181,752	135,642	10,094	24,627	10,519	870



Table 2. Distribution of Males and Females According to Marital Status and Age by Union Republic (Continued)

Republic and Age Groups	Males						Females					
	Total	Including					Total	Including				
		Married	Never Married	Widower	Divorced or Separated	Marital Status not Indicated		Married	Never Married	Widow	Divorced or Separated	Marital Status not Indicated
5-59	140,794	130,297	2,379	5,201	2,258	659	163,070	112,061	9,159	33,291	7,873	686
60-64	130,218	117,100	1,824	8,511	1,820	963	167,237	97,086	9,695	52,269	6,751	1,236
65-69	57,628	49,515	966	5,891	692	564	102,966	43,846	5,985	49,134	3,115	886
70 and over	100,469	74,258	1,559	23,070	806	776	216,886	43,224	8,721	160,196	2,872	1,873
Age not indicated	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Azerbaijan SSR												
Total population age 16 and older	2,175,012	1,400,766	672,543	39,884	20,179	41,640	2,412,901	1,433,963	548,445	318,068	67,807	44,618
Including ages:												
16-17	136,114	990	135,029	72	23	-	131,102	2,045	128,862	152	43	-
18-19	162,411	2,562	153,948	35	30	5,836	132,833	21,486	103,405	221	202	7,519
20-24	330,419	67,825	246,398	354	563	15,279	356,726	172,440	167,905	1,454	2,921	12,006
25-29	335,599	225,674	98,250	811	2,291	8,573	370,765	270,340	81,849	3,557	7,578	7,441
30-34	271,533	242,174	22,018	1,025	3,069	3,247	289,326	236,087	33,864	6,004	9,945	3,426
35-39	188,995	176,011	7,265	1,015	3,088	1,616	200,158	167,743	12,661	8,305	9,807	1,642
40-44	112,057	105,070	2,711	1,010	2,399	867	120,253	98,973	4,461	8,523	7,300	996
45-49	123,350	116,668	1,888	1,751	2,342	701	133,389	106,396	3,320	15,339	7,398	936
50-54	169,845	160,019	1,808	4,183	2,668	1,167	185,944	140,839	3,549	31,287	8,598	1,671
55-59	137,175	127,935	1,177	5,238	1,722	1,103	148,573	99,905	2,941	38,274	5,761	1,692
60-64	97,038	87,257	664	6,583	1,151	1,383	119,993	63,430	2,257	47,884	4,356	2,066
65-69	39,643	34,228	529	3,750	383	753	68,626	26,242	1,446	37,622	1,890	1,426
70 and over	70,791	54,338	853	14,057	450	1,093	155,158	28,013	1,919	119,443	2,008	3,775
Age not indicated	42	15	5	-	-	22	55	24	6	3	-	22
Lithuanian SSR												
Total population age 16 and older	1,288,171	895,214	296,675	36,104	57,367	2,811	1,500,460	899,475	258,564	238,825	100,499	3,097
Including ages:												
16-17	58,169	349	57,793	15	12	-	55,487	869	54,571	30	17	-
18-19	59,642	2,746	56,309	13	43	531	53,411	7,661	45,103	41	149	457
20-24	143,629	47,146	94,458	76	1,196	753	135,978	75,455	56,783	304	2,930	506
25-29	157,480	117,173	34,912	196	4,785	414	154,544	121,265	23,612	918	8,424	325
30-34	137,987	114,408	15,820	356	7,212	191	139,571	113,472	12,609	1,759	11,567	164
35-39	120,031	100,355	10,253	595	8,698	130	125,551	100,805	7,881	3,126	13,631	108
40-44	100,804	84,771	6,683	960	8,269	121	109,753	85,847	5,808	4,870	13,132	96

Table 2. Distribution of Males and Females According to Marital Status and Age by Union Republic (Continued)

Republic and Age Groups	Males						Females					
	Total	Including					Total	Including				
		Married	Never Married	Widower	Divorced or Separated	Marital Status not Indicated		Married	Never Married	Widow	Divorced or Separated	Marital Status not Indicated
45-49	107,008	90,579	5,993	1,710	8,630	96	119,735	90,603	6,095	8,950	14,004	83
50-54	100,578	86,769	4,349	2,415	6,927	118	119,681	86,389	6,619	14,157	12,389	127
55-59	93,268	81,420	3,304	3,396	5,063	85	118,164	78,436	8,146	21,862	9,562	158
60-64	73,915	64,316	2,269	4,064	3,146	120	112,940	64,144	9,406	31,750	7,414	226
65-69	49,461	42,343	1,535	3,856	1,653	74	83,318	37,522	7,365	34,406	3,817	208
70 and over	86,175	62,831	2,997	18,451	1,732	164	172,278	36,998	14,565	116,652	3,462	601
Age not indicated	24	8	-	1	1	14	49	9	1	-	1	38
Moldavian SSR												
Total population age 16 and older	1,412,504	1,064,912	255,450	49,062	38,895	4,185	1,641,113	1,074,174	205,599	258,302	98,645	4,393
Including ages:												
16-17	70,640	478	70,130	15	17	-	67,322	2,738	64,447	40	97	-
18-19	59,946	2,216	56,927	11	38	754	57,217	14,758	41,170	77	552	660
20-24	145,541	58,049	84,396	115	1,522	1,459	153,337	104,042	42,455	704	5,419	717
25-29	178,002	146,816	25,278	328	4,951	629	189,608	160,014	16,642	1,662	10,809	481
30-34	177,817	161,797	9,129	516	6,126	249	186,831	160,582	9,182	3,085	13,706	276
35-39	169,347	157,361	4,379	891	6,557	159	179,585	150,896	6,912	5,849	15,725	203
40-44	93,214	86,277	1,571	832	4,405	129	103,592	83,142	3,714	6,120	10,470	146
45-49	106,012	98,004	1,224	1,967	4,723	94	122,208	93,432	4,045	12,618	11,950	163
50-54	108,736	99,911	887	3,576	4,279	83	128,500	93,252	4,223	19,868	10,966	191
55-59	92,822	84,467	583	4,900	2,769	103	116,731	76,863	4,368	27,780	7,502	218
60-64	79,902	70,394	382	7,021	1,939	166	114,119	64,519	3,784	39,286	6,195	335
65-69	56,578	47,688	249	7,646	904	91	87,265	39,686	2,353	41,807	3,114	305
70 and over	73,947	51,454	315	21,244	665	269	134,797	30,249	2,304	99,406	2,140	698
Age not indicated	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-
Latvian SSR												
Total population age 16 and older	930,030	630,377	199,299	29,533	68,056	2,765	1,130,202	632,916	173,493	200,376	120,734	2,683
Including ages:												
16-17	38,459	354	38,090	7	8	-	36,532	796	35,706	21	9	-
18-19	38,638	2,147	36,062	6	22	401	35,424	6,426	28,533	33	150	282
20-24	95,163	35,217	58,151	48	1,290	457	90,015	52,153	34,455	206	2,921	280
25-29	104,859	76,381	23,275	131	4,742	330	104,447	79,359	15,912	630	8,274	272
30-34	99,334	79,286	12,128	265	7,464	191	101,041	78,531	9,479	1,255	11,591	185

Table 2. Distribution of Males and Females According to Marital Status and Age by Union Republic (Continued)

Republic and Age Groups	Males						Females					
	Total	Including					Total	Including				
		Married	Never Married	Widower	Divorced or Separated	Marital Status not Indicated		Married	Never Married	Widow	Divorced or Separated	Marital Status not Indicated
35-39	89,696	71,429	8,274	428	9,401	164	93,800	70,916	6,437	1,999	14,320	128
40-44	75,421	59,375	5,757	713	9,406	170	81,473	59,173	4,578	3,237	14,340	145
45-49	84,216	66,255	5,595	1,376	10,837	153	93,808	65,345	4,867	6,420	17,055	121
50-54	79,728	63,959	3,939	2,067	9,553	210	93,449	62,504	4,856	10,283	15,629	177
55-59	71,919	58,997	2,871	2,896	6,979	176	89,628	54,751	5,353	16,392	12,970	162
60-64	55,839	46,057	1,778	3,613	4,208	183	92,504	48,247	6,240	26,746	11,029	242
65-69	34,302	27,857	1,130	3,222	1,984	109	68,462	27,904	5,195	29,182	5,988	193
70 and over	62,421	43,048	2,244	14,760	2,161	208	149,581	26,796	11,880	103,969	6,454	482
Age not indicated	35	15	5	1	1	13	38	15	2	3	4	14
Kirghiz SSR												
Total population age 16 and older	1,229,891	848,898	312,882	24,848	36,959	6,304	1,347,413	854,655	220,681	186,230	79,570	6,277
Including ages												
16-17	84,928	522	84,379	11	16	-	83,880	2,456	81,319	44	61	-
18-19	79,405	1,702	76,519	14	47	1,123	73,040	18,315	52,849	56	735	1,085
20-24	181,211	64,702	111,706	157	2,229	2,417	181,429	118,762	52,722	648	7,993	1,304
25-29	188,350	154,662	25,766	347	6,608	967	191,232	158,131	17,118	1,661	13,543	779
30-34	156,463	142,333	7,022	439	6,370	299	158,703	135,970	6,743	2,999	12,708	283
35-39	121,142	111,361	3,269	502	5,834	176	123,797	105,280	3,272	4,529	10,551	165
40-44	66,844	61,354	1,241	525	3,597	127	68,620	56,622	1,243	4,093	6,542	120
45-49	73,468	67,483	940	1,254	3,697	94	74,027	58,749	837	7,854	6,502	85
50-54	80,753	73,579	795	2,449	3,808	122	86,933	65,790	847	13,393	6,780	123
55-59	68,749	62,561	418	3,395	2,260	115	81,628	55,447	840	19,934	5,222	185
60-64	58,772	52,694	244	4,187	1,500	147	78,263	42,753	1,096	29,230	4,860	324
65-69	26,136	22,721	152	2,634	521	108	48,909	19,493	728	26,277	2,098	313
70 and over	42,565	32,821	214	8,915	443	172	95,695	16,364	947	75,383	1,920	1,081
Age not indicated	1,105	403	217	19	29	437	1,257	523	120	129	55	430
Tajik SSR												
Total population age 16 and older	1,367,453	946,286	355,352	28,777	24,189	12,849	1,429,473	955,692	255,013	148,662	56,571	13,535
Including ages												
16-17	108,170	589	107,543	33	5	-	108,069	1,444	106,562	43	20	-
18-19	99,586	2,453	95,087	21	42	1,983	100,692	28,052	69,824	145	363	2,308
20-24	227,505	96,172	124,693	353	1,798	4,489	236,410	171,953	53,778	1,223	5,918	3,538

Table 2. Distribution of Males and Females According to Marital Status and Age by Union Republic (Continued)

Republic and Age Groups	Males						Females					
	Total	Including					Total	Including				
		Married	Never Married	Widower	Divorced or Separated	Marital Status not Indicated		Married	Never Married	Widow	Divorced or Separated	Marital Status not Indicated
25-29	219,644	193,360	17,975	813	4,795	2,701	221,703	193,752	13,066	2,476	10,080	2,329
30-34	162,136	152,599	3,970	716	4,069	782	163,861	147,430	4,163	2,916	8,753	599
35-39	118,162	111,573	1,998	688	3,523	380	120,720	107,027	2,054	3,625	7,755	259
40-44	71,526	67,620	814	601	2,269	222	67,585	58,284	881	3,516	4,716	188
45-49	79,692	75,132	789	1,336	2,288	147	71,542	59,423	772	6,290	4,906	151
50-54	82,013	76,299	655	2,582	2,224	253	82,023	65,895	730	11,002	5,009	287
55-59	68,155	62,301	452	3,671	1,454	277	73,864	53,531	677	15,885	3,365	406
60-64	55,771	49,613	267	4,560	914	417	63,715	36,346	751	23,026	2,887	705
65-69	26,622	22,715	307	2,989	354	257	42,018	17,415	726	21,927	1,330	620
70 and over	47,555	35,594	533	10,405	449	574	75,713	14,950	957	56,552	1,454	1,800
Age not indicated	916	266	269	9	5	367	658	190	72	36	15	345

Armenian SSR

Total population age 16 and older	1,076,562	647,224	244,253	18,877	9,099	157,109	1,169,683	678,720	181,443	122,650	36,768	150,102*
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Including ages

16-17	55,954	756	55,136	50	12		54,249	2,992	51,120	95	42	
18-19	60,076	1,711	52,890	38	27	5,410	52,082	13,047	30,689	142	231	2,973
20-24	138,056	32,786	82,517	299	325	22,129	142,586	78,933	41,023	772	2,203	19,655
25-29	161,427	98,749	35,053	433	1,102	26,090	168,206	117,846	23,144	1,656	4,905	20,655
30-34	142,739	108,984	10,409	478	1,421	20,447	149,449	109,370	14,283	2,752	6,018	17,026
35-39	104,563	84,281	3,877	548	1,269	14,588	111,526	81,988	7,580	3,628	5,623	12,707
40-44	63,508	51,044	1,212	483	932	9,837	67,946	48,673	2,851	3,507	3,826	9,089
45-49	65,690	52,436	822	705	979	10,748	70,823	48,956	2,098	5,634	3,590	10,545
50-54	84,418	66,737	838	1,434	1,197	14,212	90,405	60,171	2,468	9,933	3,949	13,884
55-59	74,605	58,733	579	1,987	817	12,489	79,728	49,298	2,315	13,314	2,716	12,085
60-64	61,925	47,925	314	3,018	592	10,076	74,367	39,421	2,020	19,759	2,245	10,916
65-69	22,005	16,682	237	1,674	189	3,223	33,729	13,409	848	14,250	740	4,482
70 and over	40,987	26,199	300	7,722	233	6,533	73,824	14,323	917	47,162	672	10,750
Age not indicated	609	201	69	8	4	327	763	293	87	46	8	335

\*Information on marital status not provided in areas of the Armenian SSR that suffered from the earthquake

Turkmen SSR

Total population age 16 and older	975,407	641,010	278,883	29,698	18,392	7,424	1,042,602	645,370	231,645	120,329	37,769	7,489
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Including ages



Table 2. Distribution of Males and Females According to Marital Status and Age by Union Republic (Continued)

Republic and Age Groups	Males						Females					
	Total	Including					Total	Including				
		Married	Never Married	Widower	Divorced or Separated	Marital Status not Indicated		Married	Never Married	Widow	Divorced or Separated	Marital Status not Indicated
16-17	71,349	350	70,965	30	4	-	73,119	708	72,346	49	16	-
18-19	78,187	1,792	74,793	20	32	1,550	67,332	7,985	58,063	37	166	1,081
20-24	161,333	57,332	100,833	211	837	2,120	165,304	84,178	76,258	494	2,444	1,930
25-29	157,763	132,697	20,020	622	2,776	1,648	163,976	139,647	15,634	1,421	5,623	1,651
30-34	123,939	113,818	5,404	849	3,458	407	128,605	115,496	3,720	2,540	6,450	399
35-39	90,661	83,406	2,740	904	3,349	262	94,645	82,679	1,722	3,652	6,342	250
40-44	52,550	48,384	1,131	842	2,035	158	53,553	45,413	676	3,520	3,807	137
45-49	54,130	49,389	939	1,723	1,949	130	54,437	44,025	527	6,139	3,638	108
50-54	56,391	50,361	773	3,252	1,843	162	57,695	43,578	585	9,855	3,495	182
55-59	46,348	40,323	492	4,332	1,025	176	50,892	34,660	477	13,270	2,245	240
60-64	36,914	30,774	281	5,010	620	229	47,158	25,260	551	19,099	1,889	359
65-69	17,534	13,652	193	3,174	223	292	30,840	12,025	450	17,174	803	388
70 and over	28,308	18,730	318	8,729	241	290	55,045	9,715	636	43,079	851	764
Age not indicated	3	2	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-
Estonian SSR												
Total population age 16 and older	542,838	362,814	125,223	16,263	37,399	1,139	652,317	364,622	108,159	113,098	65,184	1,254
Including ages												
16-17	22,897	148	22,735	3	11	-	21,636	379	21,242	4	11	-
18-19	24,721	1,052	23,440	3	30	196	20,673	3,444	16,970	7	98	154
20-24	53,315	17,806	34,549	33	628	299	50,712	28,361	20,510	118	1,575	48
25-29	60,212	42,895	14,628	77	2,476	136	59,302	44,744	9,664	327	4,452	115
30-34	59,920	47,241	7,852	145	4,594	88	61,117	47,534	6,152	668	6,739	59
35-39	55,992	44,629	5,531	245	5,522	65	58,379	44,602	4,328	1,206	8,181	67
40-44	45,058	35,609	3,941	399	5,032	77	48,685	35,873	3,271	1,811	7,670	68
45-49	46,122	36,520	3,508	656	5,378	60	50,711	35,431	3,422	3,438	8,360	64
50-54	45,619	36,415	2,919	1,123	5,094	68	52,948	35,495	3,309	5,764	8,313	65
55-59	41,536	33,812	2,215	1,708	3,751	50	52,146	31,956	3,613	9,434	7,068	55
60-64	33,278	27,186	1,446	2,145	2,479	22	51,226	26,557	4,118	14,685	5,773	103
65-69	19,785	15,908	877	1,851	1,119	30	38,570	15,624	3,482	16,060	3,318	86
70 and over	34,383	23,593	1,582	7,875	1,282	48	86,157	14,622	8,078	59,586	3,626	245
Age not indicated	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

### Ukrainian Youth 'Samizdat' Viewed

90UNI798A Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAYINA in  
Ukrainian 17 Apr 90 p 3

[Article by Ivan Boyko: "What 'Independents' Are Writing About"]

[Text] I was recently watching a TV program "Gart" [Hardiness]. Newspaper editors were talking about the time and the press. The authors of "Gart" added Samizdat publications to publications for the youth, thus giving the floor to creators and readership of the former. All in all, the "independents" were presented favorably. Granted, a remark was made that Samizdat is lacking evenness, objectivity and professionalism.

I have counted approximately fifty such publications in various cities of the Republic. Rukh and UKhS [Ukrainian-Helsinki Union] organizations actively promote their newspapers. Other public associations in Kiev, Lvov and Kharkov also promote themselves...

Where their editors print the newspapers are companies' secrets. They go to Baltic Republics or look for a nearby kind-hearted uncle with a Xerox, and some of them have already acquired modern equipment, due to their connections to foreign countries. The issue of the status of such publications is in the limbo between powerless obsolete instructions and the future Press Law.

These newspapers present irate and not always objective assessments of events and facts. I don't know if at least one Samizdat person was punished for publishing a lie and insulting people's honor and dignity. They publish a lot of materials about our historic past, former and current leaders and national symbols. Emphatic appeals and statements, commentaries, undelivered speeches... Let us be fair - sometimes Samizdat publishes interesting projects and proposals whose authors did not want to go to "large" newspapers or were groundlessly ignored by them. The eloquence of some materials lives side-by-side with the telegraphic style and aphoristic manner of others. The tired and diffident reader is lured by the aggressively categorical tone of Samizdat materials, by a short list of leaders "responsible" for all troubles and by primitive cartoons.

So, here is the not so simple Samizdat, an illegitimate child of glasnost. Let us read a joyous ad in a SNUM [Independent Ukrainian Youth Union] publication: young boys and girls without bad habits are invited for acquaintance in order to create a strong antigovernment organization. However, the humor disappeared on the April Fool's Day, April 1, when Independent Ukrainian Youth Union's leaders organized an unsanctioned march in Kiev and attempted to install a blue-and-yellow flag at a flagpost near the City Soviet.

And really ominous sounds the promise of SMUN's leaflet RADA to "only" eliminate the leadership "in the Party, administration, army, MVD [Ministry of Internal

Affairs] and MGB [Ministry of State Security]", and then also "all those elements" who would not obey SNUM leaders.

The Kharkov NABAT set forth practical recommendations on "protection" from the militia: "Do not let the attackers use their portable radios. A microphone cord is not too strong - with certain force it can be separated from the microphone, and without it radio communications are impossible". It would be interesting to know who is going to attack whom.

All in all, independent publications, especially in Kiev and Lvov, put a large effort and use informal skills to fix in the reader's consciousness the stereotype that a militia-man is not a protector, but rather a self-willed person etc. etc. True, they respect one, and only one former member of law enforcement ranks, the meeting-known D. Poyezd.

I am browsing through a printed March gift to readers from the Kiev UKhS branch - a weekly with a bitter title - NA RUYINI. Bluntly speaking, the UKhS fights for human rights and tries by all means to bring us close to Europe. In the introduction the NA RUYINI editorial board exalt themselves and promise to publish "reviews of the dependent press". Next to it is a list of demands to the Kiev City Party Committee, then an evaluation of articles in the Republic's Party newspaper - they call them "mendacious growling". Very "tolerantly", as behooves civilized people, under the "Death of a Butcher" heading, one wrote about a deceased person. UKhS' authors benevolently call participants of the Congress of the Ukraine Worker's Union for Socialist Perestroika "reptiles" who are "very pleased ... with their piscine brains". So, you better learn ignorant country-fellows!

In order to get a moment's rest from the rights defenders' hubbub, I am taking more reputable, in terms of their size and other parameters, newspapers, which have supposedly overcome the informal way and are printed legitimately by publishing houses. I am browsing through the March issue of SLOVO, a publication by the Ukrainian Language Society imeni Taras Shevchenko. The issue has been blessed for publishing by Deputy Editor O. Sopronyik. The name is familiar from an informal newspaper. One can see how fruitfully he is using the experience gained there. In particular, he transferred an informal price - SLOVO's price is R.50 [rubles].

Here are lines from a 1964 poem by V. Petrovich:

"Pray for me, my love, at night until tears become bullets and until stars sharpen swords".

And the work ends absolutely "perestroika-like":

"And I will choke in enemy's blood: 'I am not the last of the Mohicans!'"

Larysa Skoryk speaks in the newspaper in the same resolute manner, although without calling for blood. She calls Communists "parteigenosse" [party comrades] and

shocks the reader with a very categorical ending - the Party is over, period. But what does this proclamation have to do with the Ukrainian language?

One cannot help but notice high informal inspiration of the newspaper's artist. There are two pictures on page 5. The first one shows a Cossack and a Russian with an empty bag, both well-dressed. The second picture shows the emaciated stark naked Cossack and the Russian who looks the same as before but this time his bag is full. The pictures' titles are sly: "Two sovereigns, 1654" and "Two sovereignties, 1990". Say, they have taken away all Ukrainian property. But one should have said specifically how rich the Russians have grown in recent decades.

The 7th, April issue of SLOVO has acquired such a "free" tone that one cannot help but doubt whether the noble Society has anything to do with this printed work.

I recall with a sad feeling that USSR People's Deputy D.V. Pavlychko was pressing hard for the creation of this publication and said a lot of good things about protection and development of the mother tongue.

Another publication, NARODNA GAZETA, which Rukh has begun publishing, also finds it hard to overcome the burden of informal experience and stereotypes acquired at Xeroxes. "NARODNA GAZETA will facilitate consolidation of all sound forces in the society around the CPSU perestroika ideas. Please consider the issue of publishing NARODNA GAZETA", - this is a passage from the letter to Republic's agencies signed by NRU [Ukrainian People's Movement] Chairman I. Drach.

The promise only remained on paper, but in reality the NARODNA GAZETA adopted from its Samizdat predecessors the method of building up confrontational feelings, demonstrating the desire to use any occasion to this end.

Such approach was manifested in the very first issue, particularly in a biased commentary on the fact of its publishing. But the truth is as follows: the publication had to appear only after registering Rukh, and it indeed was published several days after the registration. There are no subscribers so far, because it is hard to get subscribers in the middle of the year. The circulation is small so far, because the entire world knows - there is shortage of paper. Nobody was able, as Rukh demanded, to force Kiev publishing houses to produce NARODNA GAZETA, so one has to print it in Zhitomir. Printing enterprises only undertake to print publications whose editorial boards can help with necessary materials or perform the uneasy typesetting process themselves, because there are not enough typesetters. It is on this very grounds that the association "Ukrvuzpoligraf" prints SOVERSHENNO SEKRETN, and NARODNA GAZETA is scolding its staff for this. All in all, it is getting very interesting - in the spirit of "stagnation" traditions the "antistagnationists" are demanding: make them, give us, share with us, and in return we will

entertain you with anecdotes like the one in the 2nd issue: "Say, is the ghost of Communism still wondering around Europe? - No. As far as we know, it has made for Asia."

So, a lot of publications do have independence - often, they are independent from the truth, conscience and culture. But are, for instance, Rukh' newspapers independent from Rukh? And are UKhS' newspapers independent from UKhS? We look and see - UKhS publications are flattering their leader L. Lukyanenko and his cohorts. In this year's 2nd issue they were singing praises to their own by the list and to some of those individually.

And a chain of publications, especially in Western Ukraine, are not free at all from the influence of the terrible past. Under slogans of fighting Stalinism and eliminating blank spots in our history they are trying in every way possible to make heroes out of OUN-UPA [Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists - Ukrainian Insurrection Army] murderers and glorifying S. Bandera and R. Shukhevich. There are so many examples that it makes no sense to cite any.

In GOLOS, edited by several USSR People's Deputies headed by V. Yavorivskiy, publishers praise themselves and their supporters and place their own statements and portraits. Let us all together praise them for, say, a tagged selection "Us and Them", where "us" is beautiful and "them" are this and that.

During the fall and winter GOLOS' militants have gotten good training near the Republican Stadium and challenged players of the Kiev Dynamo soccer team to a duel - by rolling at them a large ball called "Soccer and Political Reality". They say that in an election the players vote for wrong people. So GOLOS is asking in a severe bass tone: "Who are you with, Dynamo players and coaches?" And it demands: "For instance, one can demonstrate one's patriotic feelings in meetings that bring together tens of thousands of Kiev citizens". In short, 1:0. Draw your own conclusions, Dynamo players.

SOTSIAL-DEMOKRAT UKRAYINY has also gained a reputation of a very free publication. In A. Nosenko's report "Guests of Swedish Social Democrats" the author respectfully writes about himself and his three like-minded colleagues that they "have come with a friendly visit to Stockholm". But when it comes to grading Communists, he uses totally different words. And if there is a third party in the way, they also get their deserts. For instance, in information "Discord?" one reads the following: "So the Rukh's Movchan's team labeled Pokreshchuk an 'apparition' has hastily created a 'democratic block' of 3-5 people, candidates and conducts their election campaign using foul methods."

I am pondering over the new newspapers, taking into account financial and technical capabilities of their editorial boards and authors. I am projecting the contents of published materials onto people's interests. If this is a really free press and the "heavy chains" have fallen, how much has been achieved? Unfortunately, not

much. There is no independence - high, honest and intellectual independence. There is a contribution to irrepressible intensification of a word, and hence weakening of the feeling of duty and disregard for the law, discipline and order. American businessmen who recently have been Kiev guests were wondering: "You put so much energy in words, yelling in writing and orally". Even informational-advertising engineering and technical publications that have been created recently for businessmen, even they are switching to politics and erotica. For instance, in the Lenin rayon in the city of Nikolayev and one founded the OKTYABRSKIY PROSPEKT herald made it into a podium for defending T. Gdlyan - from one issue to the next there is information about the investigator and his group. And on February 19 he even himself made the readers happy by casually wishing them good luck. On the occasion of March 8 holiday the publication greeted women by publishing an article "I want to be a whore - can somebody train me, please..." In a word, the semi-informal "Prospect", which lists the rayon Party Committee among its founders, is leading its audience into a very promising future...

But basically, new people's associations are implementing their projects in Samizdat. A process of self-affirmation of groups, organizations and their publications is under way. Maybe eventually some of these newspapers will become respectable publications, but the majority of them...

But we shall not prognosticate. We shall only add this: in terms of sharpness a large number of publications in "big" newspapers are already at par with informal ones. And a copy price of the former is one-thirtieth of the latter.

If one paints an image of a perestroika-like almost unselfish Samizdat person, the reader would not believe it. According to the TV program "Gart", circulation of some newspapers is as high as several thousand. A copy sells for R1, seldom for R.50. Most publications call for "donations" - under this pretext it is easier to repel a weakened law enforcement. Informals are demanding to adopt the Press Law as soon as possible, but at the same time they are worried - they will lose their "underground" image and probably will have to be held responsible for what they say, unlike now, when one can write anything at one's own sweet will.

In this matter far from everything is at the surface of the triumphant glasnost. I remember a lively discussion that took place one evening at the Kiev Main Post Office, where Samizdat is being sold. An elderly man told the respected audience that he was getting ready to found his own publication.

"It will be an absolutely independent and honest newspaper. We shall guarantee real pluralism of ideas", the prospective publisher swore stately.

"I agree to contribute to such newspaper", responded a man from the audience. "I have ten years of experience, and I have worked in almost all positions in a newspaper."

"Are you a Communist?"

"Yes."

"I can hire you as a proofreader."

"But will you permit me to write in your newspaper?"

"I would not guarantee this."

One should give his due to the prospective publisher. He had clearly stated his understanding of the pluralism of ideas and press independence. This is why the dialog ended in a lively summary that probably press will be absolutely free when, as our ancestors used to say, one will honor saints in a tavern and drink-lovers in a church.

Of course, new organizations must create their publications, based on the law and with fair assistance and under the control of the State. However, listening to odes to a future multiparty system and newspaper diversity, I am not exactly rushing to join them. It seems that under the conditions of our society a multiparty system can become a new form of collective irresponsibility. A lot depends on future laws and the way they will be executed. Because if our Republic's Deputies, following All-Union examples, during recesses in parliamentary debates will drive around towns and villages calling for meetings and strikes and inundating the electorate with instigatory newspapers, we will not get too far. Apparently, one should develop a mechanism of people's expert examination of words and deeds of those who either in print or orally call people to their group. Everybody realizes his or her right to his or her own opinion. We must respect it and be tolerant. However, both the author and the group should feel the line acrossing of which hurts nation-wide interests. This first of all concerns inter-national relations. Public associations should not be indifferent to the question of what Samizdat, and not just Samizdat, brings the people. Is it really possible that, for instance, thousands of members of the Ukrainian Language Society approve the "independence" that was demonstrated in several issues of SLOVO?

But so far such publications play with and feed of people's dissatisfaction. "The great wave has come!", called an anonymous author in an ambiguously watery article published in Rukh's KHVYLYA. Of course, meeting-Samizdat leaders are trying as much as they can to agitate that wave. And they do not want it to break up into streams of specific work, because in this case the clamorous fighters will find themselves aground. While aggressively imposing their ideas and assessments, the "independents" are not exactly rushing to absorb constructive ideas and practically do not cover informal human kindness and charity. Such publishers rejoice in



mass agitation and meetings, because those meetings are the best place to sell their "revolutionary" works! But will the one who saddles black malice be able to come to the good and the truth?

#### **Ukrainian Autocephalous Church Held Lawful**

90UN1930A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian  
13 May 90 p 3

[Unattributed article: "In the Council on Religious Affairs Under the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] During the most recent session of the Council on Religious Affairs questions were brought up by believers, as well as by the leading officials of the local Soviets of People's Deputies, regarding the formation of Orthodox religious communities or congregations which would be independent of the Moscow Patriarchate and their obtaining lawful status.

It should be explained that the procedure established by law for registering religious communities in the USSR does not require from the founders of a religious community a declaration of their wish (or non-wish) to subordinate themselves to a specific religious center. Religious communities decide these matters at their own discretion. They can select for themselves this or that

religious center, create a new one, or operate independently of any religious center whatsoever. However, it is extremely important that such questions be decided democratically, without pressure on the citizens' consciences. We must not transform an internal church issue into a political issue or allow, on these grounds, an exacerbation of the relations between the representatives of various nations and peoples.

Such a more specific question as the following was also broached: "Can a Ukrainian autocephalous Orthodox Church be formed?" There are no juridical grounds for refusing this. But we do have to bear in mind that a church as an organization is formed not by individual religious communities or leaders, but by their congregations or congresses, connected within the established procedure on the basis of Article 10 of the Statute on Religious Associations in the Ukrainian SSR.

The local organs of authority must be guided by these statutes. The Council on Religious Affairs under the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers considers that such an approach will facilitate the approval and strengthening of freedom of conscience, attest to the renewal of church-state relations and their development based on the principles of a state governed by the rule of law; it will also accord religious communities the opportunity to decide questions of their own lives and activities.

**END OF  
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